

PETRUS BARWICK MD.
Serenissimo Regi Carolo II.o è Medicis ordinarijs.



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THE LIFE

Of the REVEREND

Dr. *John Barwick*, D.D.

Sometime FELLOW of

St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*;

And immediately after the

RESTORATION

Succeſſively

Dean of *DURHAM*, and St. *PAUL*'s.

Written in Latin by his Brother Dr. PETER BARWICK, formerly Fellow of the ſame College, and afterwards Phyſician in Ordinary to King *CHARLES* II.

Tranſlated into *Engliſh*

By the EDITOR of the *Latin* LIFE.

With ſome NOTES to illuſtrate the HISTORY, and a brief ACCOUNT of the AUTHOR.

To which is added,

An *APPENDIX* of LETTERS

From King *Charles* I. in his Confinement, and King *Charles* II. and the Earl of *Clarendon* in their Exile,

And other Papers relating to the Hiſtory of that Time.

Publiſhed from the

Originals in St. *John*'s College Library.

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THE

PREFACE.

BEFORE *the Reader enters upon the Life itſelf, it may not be thought improper to give him a ſhort Account of the learned Author of it, and of the ſeveral Manuſcripts from which it was firſt publiſhed in* Latin, *and is now tranſlated into* Engliſh.

The Author, Dr. PETER BARWICK, *has himſelf, in the beginning of this Life, given an Account of his Family, and of his Education in the ſame Schools, and at the ſame College with his Brother; where he took the Degree of Bachelor*

of Arts at the end of the Year 1642: *And though he is ſo modeſt in the Title of his Book only to mention his having been* formerly Scholar of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, *of which his Brother had been Fellow*; *yet my very learned and worthy Friend Mr.* Baker *informs me, from Biſhop* Wrenn's *Regiſter, that on the Third of* December 1644, *he was nominated and preſented by that Biſhop, then a Priſoner in the* Tower, *to the Fellowſhip of that College in the Biſhop of* Ely's *Gift, to which, though he could not be admitted through the Iniquity of the Times, yet he had certainly an undoubted Right; and might therefore have juſtly ſtyled himſelf* formerly Fellow of St. John's *College, as, for that Reaſon, I have preſumed to do, in the Title of this Book.*

Leaving Cambridge *probably upon the Ejectments, as his Brother did* (ſee P. 45.) *though he afterwards took hi Maſter*

Maſter of Arts Degree there (Anno 1647.) *he was invited into* Leiceſterſhire, *to be Tutor to a young Gentleman of great Hopes*, Ferdinando Sacheverell *of* Old Hayes *in that County, Eſq; and acquitted himſelf ſo well in that Employment, that his Pupil dying ſome Years after, left him an Annuity of twenty Pounds for his Life, which was always moſt punctually paid.*

Anno 1655, *he was created Doctor of Phyſick; about two Years after which, ſettling to practiſe in* London (*ſee p.* 170.) *it was about the ſame Time he married Mrs.* Sayon *a Merchant's Widow, and near Kinſwoman of Archbiſhop* Laud, *as we learn from the Archbiſhop himſelf, on occaſion of mentioning Dean* Howlet [a] *her firſt Husband.*

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[a] The Archbiſhop ſtiles him Mr. *Richard Howlet*, B.D. *a Man of very good Worth, and a Dean in* Ireland,

Husband. (Hiſt. of his Troubles and Trial, *p.* 194, 195.) *By her he had a Son that died an Infant, and three Daughters, the only Survivor of them married to Sir* Ralph Dutton *of* Sherborn, *in the County of* Gloceſter, *Bart. then Knight of the Shire for that County;*

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land, *by the Rebels there turned out of all*, &c. and ſpeaking of the Oppoſition himſelf had from the Parliament in collating the Rectory of *Lachingdon* upon him, till the Lord *Kimbolton* obtained an Order from the Houſe on that behalf, he adds the Motive, *that Mr.* Howlet *was Fellow of* Sidney *College in* Cambridge, *and Tutor at that Time to two Sons of the Lord* Montague, *the Lord* Kimbolton's *Unkle; at which Time alſo the Lord* Kimbolton *himſelf was a Student in the ſame College, and knew the Perſon and Worth of Mr.* Howlet. His Grace means, that he had been formerly Fellow, and at the ſame Time Tutor, *&c.* and it appears from a broken Regiſter of that College (for they have no perfect one till the Year 1619, as Mr. *Baker*, who favours me with this Account, aſſures me) that *Richard Howlet* was admitted there in *February* 1603-4, and from a Book of Graces, Degrees, *&c.* in the Maſter's keeping, that he was elected Fellow, *Anno* 1610, upon the Nomination of *John* Lord *Harrington*, Baron of *Exten*, one of the Foundreſs's Executors. A. B. *Anno* 1607, A. M. *Anno* 1611, B. D. *Anno* 1618. and he is there ſtyled Mr. *Richard Howlet*, B. D. Dean of *Caſſels* in *Ireland*, and Rector of ——— in *Eſſex:* which I mention, to correct a Miſtake in my Latin Preface, where from ſome Minutes of our Author's Life taken from the late Lady *Dutton* his Daughter, this Gentleman is called Dr. *Howlet* Dean of *Kilkenny*. See below, p. 345, 346.

their only surviving Son now Sir John Dutton. *With her he lived very happily many Years, and at last buried her in St.* Faith's, *his own Parish Church.*

Immediately after the Restoration, he was made one of the King's Physicians in Ordinary; and the Year following, in Acknowledgment of his and the Dean his Brother's faithful Services to the Crown, they and their Heirs for ever had, by his Majesty's Command, the Honour of an Addition to the Arms of their Family, of a red Rose irradiated with Gold, granted by a Patent [b] *under the Hand of Sir* Edward Walker, *then Garter Principal King at Arms, and under the Seal of his Office, dated* 13. Car. 2. Anno 1661: *a Particular, whereof though the learned Author's Modesty would not permit him to take No-*

[b] The Original now in the Custody of the Author's Grandson, Sir *John Dutton*, Bart. who favoured me with a Copy of it, printed in the Preface of the *Latin* Life.

tice in his Brother's Life, yet I thought it worthy to be mentioned here, in Juſtice to the King, as well as in Honour to them.

How zealous an Advocate the Author was for the immortal Dr. Harvey's *moſt uſeful Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, I have mentioned in my Preface to the* Latin *Life; and ſhall only obſerve here upon that Head farther, with Regard to an Objection in point of Chronology, that though that Diſcovery was firſt publiſhed* [c] *when Dr.* Barwick *was a School Boy; yet it met with ſo much Oppoſition, that he was a Doctor of Phyſick, and very capable of maintaining and defending it, before it was generally received: For though Dr.* Harvey *lived to his* 80th *Year* (viz. 1657, *two Years after Dr.* Barwick *took*

[c] In his *Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis*, printed at *Franckfort* 1628. See Dr. *Goodall*'s Preface to his Hiſtorical Account of the College's Proceedings againſt *Empiricks*, &c.

his

his Degree) *Mr.* Wood *obſerves, it was* with much ado, *that he ſaw his Doctrine of the Circulation of the Blood eſtabliſhed before he died.* He lived, *ſays he,* to ſee it, with much ado eſtabliſhed, being the only one (*as he adds from another*) that did ſo. Faſti Oxon. *Vol.* 2. *Col.* 691.[d]

In the courſe of his Practice he was particularly famous for his Knowledge in the Small-Pox, and all ſorts of Fevers; and was one of thoſe learned and judicious Phyſicians, whom Dr. Hodges *in his Book concerning the Plague* (*p.* 19.) *obſerves to have done great Service in the Time of that fatal Sickneſs in* London.

When the dreadful Fire of that City the Year following had driven him from the Neighbourhood of St. Paul's, *where he had purchaſed a Houſe*[e] *for the Convenience of attending daily upon God's*

[d] His firſt Edition, which I always mean, where I do not name the ſecond.

[e] See Note [q], *p.* 170.

Service

Service in that Cathedral; the ſame pious Reaſon determined him to take another Houſe very near Weſtminſter-Abbey, *where he lived to a great Age, and conſtantly frequented the ſix a Clock Prayers; conſecrating the beginning of every Day to God, as he always dedicated the next part of it to the Poor; not only preſcribing to them in their Sickneſs* gratis, *but furniſhing them with Medicines at his own Expence, and charitably relieving their other Wants.*

About the Year 1671 (viz. *ſeven Years after his Brother's Death, p.* 101, 342.) *he began* [c] *at leaſt to draw up this Hiſtory of*

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[c] As to the Time when he finiſhed this Work, I have not inſiſted on the Calculation in the *Latin* Preface; concluding upon farther Conſideration, that his *Appendix* muſt have been written before his Eye-ſight quite failed him (that is, before the Year 1694) becauſe he made a Shift to put his Name to it (*p.* 379.) and conſequently the Life (compoſed twenty Years before, *ibid.*) muſt have been finiſhed before that Year. But whereas my Author ſays, that *Walker*, againſt whom that *Appendix* was made, was ſome Years above ſeventy, when he publiſhed his Book againſt the King's (p. 375.) that muſt be a Miſtake; for

of his Life; and himself acquaints us (p. 286, 287.) *why he wrote in* Latin. *Twenty Years after he had finished it* (p. 379.) *on Dr.* Walker's *publishing his pretended* faithful Account of the Author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, *he composed his* Appendix *in Defence of the Royal Martyr's Title to that Divine Work, against the Pretences of* Walker, *and his* Hero *Bishop* Gauden. *His Eye-sight was then so very bad, that he was forced to make use of a Friend's Hand to write it, and could hardly see to put his Name to it* (p. 379.) *In the Year* 1694 *it quite fail'd him; whereupon he gave over his Practice, and lived privately and retir'd, giving himself up intirely to Contemplation, and the Conversation of a few intimate Friends, par-*

for by the Time of his Admission in St. *John*'s (p. 16.) he appears to have been born about 1622; so that in 1692 he was but seventy Years old, and that Book of his must have been published that Year at farthest, because Dr. *Hollingsworth*'s Answer to it was printed that Year. See the Note, *p.* 371.

ticularly

ticularly his Neighbour Dr. Busby [f].

From this ſedentary courſe of Life, the Stone, which was the only Diſtemper he was troubled with, grew very much upon him; and toward the end of Aug. 1705, *being ſeized with a Vomiting and Looſneſs, followed with an intermitting Fever, and in a few Days with a great and ſudden Evacuation of Blood, he exchanged this Life for a better on the* 4th *of* September *following, in the* 86th [g] *Year of his Age, and by his own Direction was interr'd privately, and without any Monument, near the Body of his dear Wife.*

As to the Manuſcripts from whence

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[f] See my learned Friend Mr. *Mattaire*'s Epiſtle at the end of my *Latin* Preface, and the Inſcription on the Doctor's Tomb in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, publiſhed in the *Antiquities* of that Church.

[g] By his Daughter the late Lady *Dutton*'s Account (too haſtily followed in the *Latin* Preface) it was the 89th Year: But that muſt be a Miſtake; for being ſeven Years younger than the Dean his Brother (p. 5.) who was born *Anno* 1612. (p. 1.) he muſt have been born *Anno* 1619, from which to 1705, the Year of his Death, is but 86 Years.

this Life was firſt publiſhed in Latin, *the principal of them is that of St.* John's *College in* Cambridge, *by the Author's Direction, as well as at his Charge, fairly copied from his Original, bound up in* Turkey *Leather, with three of the King's original Letters, and an Acquittance all in his Majeſty's own Hand, and repoſited in that College Library, together with another Volume of the Chancellor's, Dr.* Barwick's, *and other original Letters and Papers relating to the ſame Subject, to be publiſhed when the College ſhould think proper. The Author's own Manuſcript, preſerved by his Grandſon Sir* John Dutton, *can hardly be reckoned a different one from that, which was tranſcribed Word for Word from it. But there is another Manuſcript of this Life, all written likewiſe in the Author's own Hand, given by him in his Life time to Dr.* Woodward, *now Profeſſor of* Greſham *College,*

lege, and for ſome Time with the Author's Approbation at leaſt, repoſited alſo in another eminent Library, that of St. Martin's *in the Fields; which varying conſiderably from the former, and that in ſome Particulars, that at firſt View ſeemed to be rather Amendments of that, than to have been amended by it, better Judges than I were for ſome time inclined to think that Manuſcript the correcter of the two; as difficult as it was to account for the Author's making any conſiderable Alterations in a Work, repoſited with ſuch Care and Charge for the publick Benefit, and not ordering thoſe Alterations to be made in the Copy, for which he had ſhewn ſo much Regard. This determined me rather to tranſcribe the St.* Martin's *Manuſcript for the Preſs, but with a Purpoſe to add from that of St.* John's, *whatever Particulars of any Importance were not in the other, as I had obſerved there were ſome. Comparing*

ing them more diligently with this View, as I met ſeveral Expreſſions both in the one and the other, which ſeemed to challenge the Preference to each in their Turns: So I took Notice of one various reading, that muſt abſolutely determine the Controverſy in favour of the St. John's *Manuſcript; and this is that* (p. 295.) *which ſtyles Dr.* Dolben now Archbiſhop of York, *where the other calls him* now Biſhop of Rocheſter. *This Alteration might have been made indeed by the Tranſcriber, and the* (now) *only refer to the Time of his copying it; but when I found by Sir* John Dutton's *Original, that the Expreſſion was the Author's own, I was convinced the St.* John's *Manuſcript was the laſt Draught of the Life, and therefore reſolved to follow that; yet not ſo ſcrupulouſly, as either to forbear adding out of the other what was of any Moment, and ſeemed to be omitted in this, only to ſhorten the*

Life

Life (a Reaſon of little Weight with the Reader) or much leſs minutely to alter every Word, Phraſe, or Place of a Word, by the laſt Manuſcript, in what I had tranſcribed from the firſt, where the Meaning was the ſame in both. I am ſo particular in this Account here, though it regards the Latin *Edition more than this; becauſe that had not been many Weeks publiſhed, before there was a grievous Complaint made againſt it; which becauſe the Writer of the* Poſt-Boy *was too much my Friend to put out in his Paper, was printed in the* Gazette *of* July 18, 1721, *in the angry Advertiſement following.*

" *Whereas a Book has been lately*
" *printed, pretended to be the Life of*
" *Dr.* John Barwick, *Dean of St.*
" Paul's, *written in* Latin *by his Bro-*
" *ther Dr.* Peter Barwick, *&c. This*
" *is to certify, that the ſaid Book is not*
" *the genuine Life of Dr.* John Bar-
" wick,

" wick, *written by his ſaid Brother:*
" *For the Editor having in his Hands*
" *two Manuſcripts of that Life, one*
" *being the Author's firſt and undigeſt-*
" *ed Thoughts; and the other, as it*
" *was afterwards by him corrected and*
" *perfected: Inſtead of publiſhing it*
" *from this laſt Manuſcript (which*
" *the Author left in his own Hand*
" *writing, to be preſerved in his Fa-*
" *mily; and ſtill farther to ſecure it*
" *intire and uncorrupt to Poſterity,*
" *ſent a Tranſcript of it, with the*
" *original Letters to which it refers,*
" *to be lodged in the Library of St.*
" John's *College in* Cambridge, *where*
" *he had his Education) hath made a*
" *Compilation of both, inſerting what*
" *the Author, upon better Informati-*
" *on, had rejected, and modelling the*
" *whole according to his own Humour*
" *and Fancy; which new and unjuſti-*
" *fiable Proceeding being injurious to*

" *the Author, and contrary to his In-*
" *tentions; his Family, in order to do*
" *Juſtice to his Memory, and for the*
" *Satisfaction of the Publick, find*
" *themſelves obliged to take Notice,*
" *that they will publiſh the ſaid Life*
" *from the genuine Manuſcript in their*
" *Cuſtody, with ſuch Chronological and*
" *Hiſtorical Obſervations, as ſhall be*
" *judged neceſſary to illuſtrate it.*

From this heavy Charge I endeavoured to vindicate myſelf in an Advertiſement alſo to the Engliſh *Reader, ſince the Appeal had been made to him, who was yet no Way concerned in the pretended Injury. It was printed in the* Poſt-Boy *of the* 25th *of the ſame Month, in the Words following, wherein I hope there is as much leſs Paſſion, as I am ſure there is more Truth, than in that of the* Gazette.

" *Whereas in an Advertiſement*
" *of laſt* Tueſday's Gazette, *the late*
" *Edition*

" *Edition of Dr.* Barwick's *Life is cen-*
" *ſured as* not genuine, *but* compiled
" out of two different Manuſcripts,
" and modelled according to the Edi-
" tor's own Humour and Fancy; *be-*
" *cauſe ſome Paſſages not contained in*
" *one of thoſe Manuſcripts, are printed*
" *from the other; and that other Manu-*
" *ſcript is repreſented, as the Author's*
" undigeſted Thoughts, *and* what
" upon better Information he had
" rejected: *The Editor finds himſelf*
" *obliged to certify, that the Manuſcript*
" *ſo miſrepreſented is all fairly written*
" *in the Author's own Hand, and was by*
" *his Approbation lodged in St.* Mar-
" tin's *Library, as the other, with the*
" *original Letters and Papers thereto*
" *relating, was, in the Library of St.*
" John's *College in* Cambridge; *that*
" *there is no Ground to ſuſpect the Truth*
" *of any of the Facts mentioned in the*
" *conteſted Paſſages; but that on the*

" *contrary they are generally ſupported*
" *by the reſt of the Hiſtory; that the E-*
" *ditor inſerted them with no other View,*
" *but to render the Work more complete,*
" *and (to prevent all Exception) gave*
" *the Reader a Particular of them in*
" *his Preface, and left him to judge of*
" *their Authority; that without any Ad-*
" *dition or Alteration he has publiſhed*
" *the Life faithfully from thoſe two Ma-*
" *nuſcripts, and given ſuch an Account*
" *of this whole Matter in the Preface,*
" *as he hoped might have ſatisfied all that*
" *read it: And that being encouraged to*
" *tranſlate the Book, he will take that*
" *Opportunity to give the* Engliſh *Read-*
" *er, to whom the Advertiſement is ad-*
" *dreſſed, what farther Satisfaction may*
" *be required; and will there add in his*
" *own Vindication, what he preſumed*
" *there could be no Occaſion for in his*
" Latin *Preface, and what would be*
" *too long to inſiſt upon here.*

The account of this Matter in the Latin *Preface, is the ſame I have given here, in what I have ſaid of thoſe two Manuſcripts; which as I am confident it will clear me to every unprejudiced Reader, from any Deſign of injuring either my Author or the Publick, in the manner I am accuſed of; ſo the Care I took to acquaint the Reader beforehand, what thoſe Additions were, that gave ſo much Offence (and that as ſoon as I knew the Offence was taken) muſt effectually prevent any ſuch Injury, if it had been deſigned: And indeed it was all that was poſſible to be done for that Purpoſe, after the Impreſſion was ſo near finiſhed, as it was when the Objection was firſt made to me (unleſs I would have been at the Expence of a new Impreſſion) and was therefore upon the Propoſal accepted as the propereſt Expedient, by the Perſon who judged himſelf moſt aggriev'd; and I hop'd would accordingly have been fully acquieſc'd in:*

And

And yet to give ſtill farther Satisfaction, if poſſible, I have in this Engliſh *Edition cauſed thoſe conteſted Paſſages to be diſtinguiſh'd more viſibly by incloſing them in Hooks, and intended alſo to have entered here into a particular Examination of the Facts contained in them, to prove what I have aſſerted in my Advertiſement, that there is no Ground to ſuſpect the Truth of any one of them; but that on the contrary they are generally ſupported by the reſt of the Hiſtory. But for fear of ſwelling the Preface too much, after the Notes have extended the Book to a larger Bulk than I expected, I ſhall leave this Inquiſition to the Reader, and only challenge the Objector to ſhew the contrary in any one Inſtance. For fear he ſhould make choice of that, wherein ſome, concerned forſooth for the Reputation of one of the moſt profligate Villains that ever breath'd, I mean* Oliver Cromwell, *may think the Author had judged too uncharitably*

charitably of him, and therefore retrench'd that Paſſage [p. 82, 83, 84, 85.] *I have there added a long Note, which will abundantly prove the contrary. I ſhall only take Notice farther, how the Advertiſer has miſrepreſented the Author's Intent, with Regard to his Manuſcript of this Life, as if his principal deſign had been, to* preſerve it in his own Family, *and his Lodging a Tranſcript of it,* &c. *in St.* John's *Library, had been only* farther to ſecure it, *&c. Whereas it is evident from the Expence of that Tranſcript, and his lodging the King's, and other original Letters and Papers with it (without which the Life itſelf were of little Authority) that his principal Deſign was, that the whole ſhould be preſerved in the College, and that in a fairer Copy than his own, till judged proper to be publiſhed: After which all the Concern he ſhewed for preſerving it in his own Family, when he had veſted the entire Right*

and

and Title to it in the College, was not de-ſtroying his own Manuſcript (no longer of any great Uſe, when a better Copy was taken from it, and repoſited with all its Credentials in a publick Library) but leaving it among other Papers, to be de-ſtroyed or preſerved, as his Heir ſhould think fit, without the leaſt Direction that I ever heard of about it, or ſo much as a Copy of thoſe original Papers, which are the Vouchers of its Authority: So that if the Publick be ever favoured with that more genuine Edition *of this Life, which the Advertiſer has ſo long ſince promiſed, it muſt want the eſſential part of the Hi-ſtory, which is a great deal more than mine is pretended to have too much; and I am afraid the Reader will not find ſo ma-terial a Defect ſufficiently made amends for by the* Chronological and Hiſtori-cal Obſervations, *which are to adorn that Edition.*

THE




G. Vertue Sculp.
IOHANNES BARWICK S.T.P.
Ecclesiæ S.ti Pauli Londinensis Decanus.

THE LIFE OF Dr. *John Barwick*, D.D.

DR. *John Barwick*, whoſe Life I am going to write, was born *April* the 20th *Anno* 1612, at *Wetherſlack* in *Weſtmoreland*, a Village formerly of no great Note, but render'd famous in the late Troubles, partly by the Worth of this great Man, and his unſhaken Loyalty in the worſt Times, partly by the glorious Death of Mr. *William Leybourne*, a Gentleman alſo born there, and an intimate Acquaintance of Mr. *Barwick*'s almoſt from

his Cradle, who in the beginning of the Civil War bravely loſt his Life for the King in the Field of Battel, to the great Grief of all good Men, particularly of his deareſt Friend Mr. *Barwick*, the Rival of his great Virtue; who, though not of honourable Parentage (as his Friend Mr. *Leybourne* was, deriving his Pedigree in a right Line from an antient Family of that Name) yet was born of honeſt Parents, *George Barwick* and *Jane* his Wife, whoſe maiden Name was *Barrow*. This *George* was the eldeſt Son of *Nicholas*, a Deſcendant of the antient Family of the *Barwicks* of *Fair* [a] *Ridg* near the little Village of *Staveley* in the North Part of *Lancaſhire*.

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[a] The Latin is *Bella Lira*, which I ſhould have tranſlated *Fair-Harp*, but I could find no ſuch Place in any Map of *Lancaſhire*. On the contrary, I am aſſured from a Gentleman born in that Neighbourhood, that there are only two little Villages near *Staveley*, the one *Fair Ridg* or *Rig*, the other *Fidler Hay* or *Haugh*; which latter he ſuppoſed to be the Place meant; becauſe there were two late of the Name of *Barwick* dwelt there, the laſt whereof dying about four or five Years ago, left only a Daughter. But another who lives at *Fidler Hay*, ſays, there is one of that Name yet living at *Fair Ridg*; and he is ſo impartial to his own Village, as to ſeem more inclinable to favour the other with the Honour contended for. The two Places are ſo near together as to be almoſt contiguous, and there is enough of the *Latin* Name in both, to make *Bella Lira*, if put together. But my very learned Friend, who obliged me with this Information, as he has with many others, being of Opinion that *Fair Ridg* is the Place meant, I have choſen to tranſlate it ſo.

The

The chief of the *Barwick*'s Family was *Thomas de Berwick*, who in the Reign of that victorious Prince King *Edward* the Third, had the Command of all his Archers, as appears from an Inſtrument quoted out of the Archives by Sir *John Bankes* the King's Advocate, in one of his Arguments in the Caſe of *Ship-Money*, publiſhed in *Ruſhworth's Collections* [b].

John Barwick's Parents had but a ſmall Eſtate; yet by living frugally, and prudently managing what little they had, they decently bred up all their Children (which were

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[b] What my Author quotes from *Ruſhworth*, I cannot find in any of Sir *John Bankes's Arguments for the King in the Caſe of Ship Money*. In his ſecond Argument of *December* 1637. (*Ruſhw. Collect. Part* 2. *p.* 565.) there is mention of *Writs directed to moſt of the Sheriffs of* England, *to be aſſiſting to John de Barwick, to the chuſing and ſending forth Archers ad proficiſcendum in Fletâ noſtrâ.* But the Inſtrument quoted for it (*viz. Pat.* 23. *E.* 1. *m.* 5.) ſhews, that (beſides the Difference of *John* for *Thomas*, and different Spelling of the Sirname) this was not in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, but of *Edward* the Firſt. I think it is in the ſame Argument (*ibid.* p. 575.) there is alſo mention of *Power given to Thomas de B.* (for only the initial Letter of the Sirname is put down) *to raiſe Forces in* Cumberland *to reſiſt the* Scots, &c. But as the Inſtrument there cited (*Pat.* 31. *E.* 1. *m.* 20.) ſhews, that this was alſo in the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt, ſo here is no Intimation of this *Thomas de B.* having had any Command over the Archers, nor indeed any certainty, that *B.* means *Berwick* or *Barwick*. In a Patent (2 *Eliz. p.* 1. *m.* 14.) there is mention of one *Thomas Barwick. Rymer. Fœd.* &c. *T.* xv. *p.* 563. and alſo in one (3 *Eliz. p.* 4. *m.* 33. *dorſ.*) Ibid. *p.* 605. and in the Index of that Work *Johannes Barvicius* is referr'd to *T.* xvi. *p.* 213, 218, 301. which I had not an Opportunity to conſult.

five Sons, beſides one that died young) and except Mr. *Leybourne*'s Family, were as charitable to the Poor, as any in that Neighbourhood; yet far from running out their little Fortune, they left behind them double the Eſtate they had received from their Anceſtors, without the leaſt Imputation of any Thing ſordid or undecently parſimonious in their way of living. Their eldeſt Son *Nicholas*, and his Brother *William*, were bred up to Husbandry; an Art of great Advantage to the Publick, and of old deſervedly reckoned among thoſe that were called *Liberal*. Theſe two (as was but meet) at their Father's Death had each of them left him a ſeveral Farm, which they had each of them managed for him during his Life: *Nicholas* that of the Family, which deſcended to him by right of Inheritance; and *William*, one of not much leſs Value, purchaſed by his Father; and this, as ſome Reward for that Support, which the reſt of their Brethren had received from their Labours: And indeed they deſerved a greater; who, beſides that Love to their Brothers, and Duty to their Parents, which they ſhewed upon all Occaſions, lived in perfect Agreement with each other, and the reſt

of

of the Family; for which, as well as for their great Piety, and exemplary Probity and Goodneſs, they were famous through all that Neighbourhood. The youngeſt Brother *Edward* having obtained a Competency of School-Learning, was ſent up to *London*, and put Apprentice to a Herald-Painter; in which Buſineſs he uſed ſo much Induſtry and Application, and ſearched with ſuch Diligence into the Antiquities of Families, and Knowledge of their ſeveral Arms, that he excelled moſt in that Art. But their Parents chief Concern was, that the two other Brothers, *John* and *Peter* [c], ſhould be bred Scholars, firſt in the Grammar Schools of that Neighbourhood, and then at St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*. It muſt be owned, that while they were kept at obſcure mean Schools, what thro' the Neglect or the Ignorance of their Maſters, they were not a little retarded in the Progreſs of Learning. *John* was ſeven Years older than *Peter*, and by that Means was very helpful to him in his Studies, as well by his good Example, as his uſeful Inſtructions.

[c] The Writer of this Life.

When *John* (whoſe Life I have undertaken to write) had loſt much Time under Maſters of little Diligence and not much Learning, and was now well grown, he was ſent to [d] *Sedberg* School in *Yorkſhire*, not without Hopes, as it afterwards proved, that he would there make a greater Proficiency in Learning. His Maſter there was [e] Mr. *Gilbert Nelſon*, a very good Man, but that he did not conſtantly attend the School; for his Salary being not [f] ſufficient to maintain his Wife and Family, he engaged alſo in a Cure of Souls, to the great Diſadvantage of his Scholars. What Time

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[d] Founded and well endow'd (in *Henry* the Eighth's Time) by *Roger Lupton* Dr. of Canon-Law, born at *Sedberg*, and ſometime Provoſt of *Eton* College, which he ſeems to have made the Model of his Foundations; for having founded eight Scholarſhips and two Fellowſhips, his Scholars were to be choſen from *Sedberg* School to St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, as they are from *Eton* to *King*'s; and in like manner his Scholars into his Fellowſhips, if vacant.

[e] He was of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, mentioned in the Regiſter of that Univerſity to have taken both his Degrees of that College; that of Bachelor of Arts *Anno* 1618-9, and that of Maſter of Arts *Anno* 1622; but having never been Fellow, was probably choſen Maſter of *Sedberg* School for his Worth, the Maſterſhip being in the Choice of the Maſter and Seniors of that College, and uſually fill'd with one of their own Fellows.

[f] It may be his Family was very large; for as the Endowments of that School were always conſiderable, ſo they are at preſent better than a hundred Pounds a Year, beſides Advantages from Scholars.

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he could afford them, he taught them *Latin* very well, *Greek* indifferently: He was a very pleaſant facetious Man, and by his merry Comments render'd ſo very agreeable what uſes to give moſt Uneaſineſs in Learning, that his Scholars became fond of their Books, though never ſo hard. They were wonderfully delighted, when he undertook to explain any of the *Dramatick* Poets, particularly *Terence* or *Plautus*; for whatſoever in them ſeemed difficult to the weaker Capacity of the Boys, he expounded with ſo much Wit and Merriment, that all who had the leaſt Ingenuity were extreamly in Love with that ſort of Learning. In order alſo more throughly and clearly to explain the Meaning of thoſe Poets, whether Comedians or Tragedians, he uſed to teach ſuch of his Scholars as he found fit for it, to tread the Stage now and then for their Diverſion, and act the ſeveral Parts of thoſe Plays; without which kind of Knowledge he knew he might fit them for the Lives of Monks or Hermits, but not to bear any Offices in the State, or perform the Duties of a Civil Life. Among ſuch as were moſt skilful in acting Plays, he took greateſt De-

light in *John Barwick*, and was mightily pleaſed to ſee him act ſo much to the Life the Part of *Hercules* raving in the Tragedy, as to gain the Applauſe of all the Spectators. This ſhewed that our young Scholar had now laid aſide childiſh Sports, and was fit to converſe with Men, before he left School; for *Hercules*'s Buskins (as the Proverb ſays) are not fit for Children. But he never ſuffered theſe Diverſions to interrupt the ſteady Courſe of Piety, to which he had been remarkably accuſtomed from his Childhood: [For I remember, when at a Breaking up for *Eaſter-Holidays* he came Home from School (as is uſual at thoſe great Feſtivals) he ſpent all *Good-Friday* at Church, in Devotion, ſuitable to that ſolemn Occaſion; when every one elſe came Home after Morning-Prayer, and went not to Church again till Evening-Service: And it pleaſed God to call him afterwards, on the ſame Anniverſary Faſt, to give a moſt illuſtrious Proof, how ſincere and hearty his Zeal was for Religion, as will be related hereafter.]

And now at laſt being fit for the Univerſity, in the Year 1631. he went to *Cambridge*,

bridge, and was admitted [g] in St. *John*'s College, under the Tuition of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas* [h] *Fothergil*, who long ſurviv'd his dear Pupil; and who not only inſtructed him in Learning and good Manners, but alſo ſupported him in his Neceſſities; good Offices which his Pupil afterwards gratefully acknowledged, as will be mentioned more at large in its proper Place. Under the Care of this his moſt loving Tutor, *John Barwick* ſpared no Pains, nor declined any Study, to render himſelf capable of ſerving the Publick, which was his chief Aim. Nor yet was he ſo wholly wedded to his Studies, but that at leiſure Hours he would frequently recreate himſelf with bodily Exerciſes, and thoſe violent enough, ſuch as pitching the Bar, and playing at Football; at the latter of which having once the ill Fortune to break the Collar-Bone of one of his Fellow Collegians, he was all his Life after ſo heartily concerned for this Miſchance, that though the Bone was well ſet,

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[g] On the fourteenth of *May*, that Year, and at the Age of eighteen, as appears from the College Regiſter.

[h] Many Years Fellow of that College, a conſiderable Tutor, and a ſober regular Man, who maintained the College Diſcipline to the height.

and

and ſoon perfectly cured, yet he would never be prevailed upon to play at Football more; ſo far was he from the Inhumanity of thoſe, who have no Senſe of the Misfortunes of others. Sometimes he would temper his ſeverer Studies with ſofter Recreations, particularly with Muſick, deſervedly accounted one of the *Liberal Arts*, and that which ſweetens as well as adorns all the reſt; yet no one had a greater Abhorrence of that execrable Muſick, which miniſters to Lewdneſs and Intemperance. That in which he delighted was chaſt, ſevere, ſober, holy; and the Uſe he made of it, was to bear his Part in ſinging forth God's Praiſes in the publick Choir, with a Sweetneſs of Melody equal to that Fervency of Devotion, wherewith he daily celebrated them in his Cloſet. To this Study, which adds ſo much Life and Ornament to Divine Worſhip, he was always, by his Example as well as Advice, endeavouring to perſuade ſuch of his Fellow Collegians of the younger ſort, as their Voices, their Age, and their Genius rendered capable thereof: Nor did he repent to have ſtudied himſelf, what he found ſo uſeful for the Management of a Choir, when he was afterwards promoted to the Government of a Cathedral. He

He was hardly made Bachelor of Arts, before he was thought fit to be entruſted with the Management of ſome Affairs of the College of no little Importance; for King *Charles* the Firſt, always moſt ſtudious of preſerving Peace and Concord among his Subjects, having heard, that there was like to be a fatal Conteſt in that College, concerning the Election of a new Maſter into the Place of Dr. *Gwin*, then lately [i] de-

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[i] *viz.* In *June* 1633. The Pariſh (*All-Saints*) Regiſter ſays, he was buried *Anno* 1633 *June* 20, which probably is meant of the Solemnity; for his Will is dated *June* 3^d^, in the ninth of the Reign of King *Charles*, and proved *June* 8vo *Anno Domini* 1633. *Regr. Teſtament.* for which Reaſon it will not be very eaſy to reconcile the Chronology of this Account; for all the Difficulties and Diſorders with regard to the Election of a new Maſter to ſucceed Dr. *Gwin* (which indeed were very great) were over by *February* the 20th the ſame Year, when Dr. *Beale* (by way of Expedient) was admitted Maſter, the two Competitors Dr. *Lane* and Mr. *Holdſworth* being both laid aſide, though the latter ſeems to have been elected by a good Majority. Now our young Proctor for the College having not been admitted till *May* 14. 1631 (as was ſaid above *p.* 9.) which was little above two Years before theſe Diſorders began, he could not regularly be Bachelor of Arts till ſeveral Months after they were all over, even though he had taken that Degree (as is frequently done) the Midſummer before the reſt of his Year; on the contrary it appears from the Univerſity Regiſter, that he commenc'd Bachelor of Arts *Anno* 1634-5, and Maſter of Arts *Anno* 1638: nor is there any Account to be met with on the College Books, of his having been deputed by the College to attend that Hearing. The learned Gentleman that in an Advertiſement mentioned in the Preface, has given us Hopes of a more faithful and genuine Edition of Dr. *Barwick*'s Life in Latin, than that already publiſhed, will do well to reconcile this Difficulty in his *Chronological Obſervations, wherewith he promiſes to illuſtrate it.*

ceas'd,

ceas'd, condeſcended to uſe his pious Endeavours to ſtifle the Miſchief in the Birth; and to that Purpoſe ordered the Cauſe to be brought before himſelf, e'er the Difference had taken too deep Root. To attend this Hearing before the King in Council, and uſe the beſt Means he could, that the College ſhould ſuffer nothing from either of the contending Parties, Sir *Barwick* (to give him the Stile of his Degree) was deputed by the reſt of his Collegians, with Power to act as their Proctor, and Inſtructions proper to the Occaſion. This Truſt he diſcharged ſo faithfully, and ſo much to the Service of the College, that he thereby gained in the Univerſity the Affection of all ſuch as rejoiced to ſee thoſe Sparks of civil Diſcord extinguiſhed, e'er they could break out into open Flames. Nor was it only in his own College, that he obtained hereby the Reputation of great Ability, but even among the Privy-Counſellors, and Chief Miniſters of State, to whom from that Time he began to be known; and by managing the Affairs of one College, learning to diſpatch publick Buſineſs, he paved the Way to thoſe important Negotiations, wherein he was afterwards employed, ſo much to the

the Service of his King and Country. Yet ſome of his Fellow Collegians, though not very many, who had been too buſy in fomenting thoſe Diſputes, were incens'd againſt him for ſome Time, merely for diſappointing their ill Deſigns. However they did not ſo much as endeavour to hinder his being choſen [k] Fellow of the College, after he had done it ſo ſignal a Piece of Service. Theſe in their own Nature were not ill Men; yet they had a more favourable Opinion than they ought of the Attempts of thoſe, who under the Mask of Piety, and the Pretence of promoting a purer Reformation, ſoon after diſjointed the whole Frame of the Conſtitution both in Church and State; from whom, in Reward of that exceſſive Candor, they obtained only this Favour; that on their Refuſal to come into all the Meaſures of theſe Reformers, and ſubſcribe implicitly to all they did, they received little milder Treatment from them, than Mr. *Barwick* himſelf, or any other Loyaliſts, who had oppoſed their ſeditious Practices with all their Power: For after

[k] He was choſen Fellow *pro Magiſtro Simpſon Apr.* 5. 1636. *Regr. Coll. Jo.*

ſome

ſome Years, a Tribe of ſubtle Turncoats of the Puritan Faction, compos'd of the Dregs of all thoſe Sects, who in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, abuſing the Clemency of that Prince, and the Lenity (not to ſay Eaſineſs) of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, had ſecretly undermined and plotted the Ruin of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, and beſt conſtituted Church in the World, now at length began openly and barefaced to attack both, and to carry on their Deſigns with a high Hand: For they had got not only Friends in the Church, but Patrons even in the King's Cabinet; and with a ſpecious ſhew of Piety, had impos'd on the Credulity of many good Perſons, endowed with no great Penetration, and drawn them over to their Party. And now, becauſe the two Univerſities, in the Opinion of theſe Reformers, were not enough infected with this Contagion, they employed all their Endeavours to intoxicate them yet farther: The Faction had at that Time (as from the beginning of the Reformation they had always had) ſome learned and good Men too much addicted to them, even among thoſe that bore Office in the Univerſities; of whoſe Credit and Reputation at leaſt, if not alſo of their Aſſiſtance,

ſiſtance, they made too much Uſe, with odious Titles to blacken, and expoſe to the Malice of the ignorant Populace, all ſuch as conſtantly ſerved God according to the Primitive Way (who were always the greater, and in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, much the greateſt Part of both Univerſities) repreſenting them as Popiſhly affected; whereas they had the utmoſt Averſion from all Innovations in Doctrine whatſoever. They themſelves in the mean Time (who laid ſo heavy a Charge againſt Men of the niceſt Probity, that worſhipped God in the Primitive Way) took Pains to impugn and refute the modern Doctrines of the Papiſts, by ſuch as were yet more modern, fetch'd from Churches not well reformed. Mr. *Barwick* was not aſhamed to take Part with thoſe, who took Part with the Primitive Biſhops and Catholick Fathers of the Church, tho' now rendered odious to the Dregs of the People; and together with ſo many extraordinary Perſons, very famous for their Piety and Learning, ſtrenuouſly to the utmoſt of his Power to maintain the Peace, not only of the *Engliſh*, but of the whole Catholick Church. It was much to be lamented, that very good Men ſhould be uſed with Hard-

ſhip

ſhip by ſuch as were not bad, and the greater Part by the leſs; and this merely to gratify thoſe, who were Enemies to both, and had deſtin'd them all without Exception, as ſo many Victims, to one common Deſtruction. In the mean Time theſe good Men, alas! too credulous, with vain Hopes of I know not what golden Age to be introduced by the[l] Parliament then going to meet, perſiſted to deceive not only themſelves, but as many as they could of the young Scholars, even of other Colleges, as well as of thoſe of which themſelves were Heads. One of them, a [m] venerable old Man of an exemplary good Life, ſent for a [n] Pupil of Mr. *Barwick*'s, though not of his own College, who had hitherto conſtantly frequented the Service of the Church of *England*, and ſpoke to him in this manner.

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[l] The infamous long Parliament that met at *Weſtminſter* *November* 3d *Anno* 1640.

[m] Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Maſter of *Katherine Hall*, and ſoon after Biſhop of *Exeter*.

[n] *Anthony*, afterwards Dr. *Walker*, Son of *William Walker*, Vicar of *Winſton* in *Suffolk*, born at *Conington* in *Cambridgeſhire*; and from *Ely* School at the Age of ſixteen Years, admitted Penſioner of St. *John*'s College, under the Tuition of Mr. *Barwick*, *Apr.* 3. 1638. *Regr. Coll. Joh.*

" I wonder

" I wonder that your Tutor, no ill Man " in other Reſpects, does not yet abſtain " from that Form of Worſhip, which he " muſt needs know will be diſagreeable to " our excellent Parliament, and not very ac- " ceptable to God himſelf" (for Mr. *Barwick*, according to the Cuſtom of his College, and of the Primitive Church, uſed to worſhip God by bowing towards the Eaſt.) " But be you careful, ſays he, to ſteer your " Courſe clear of the dangerous Rock of " every Error, whether it ſavour of the " Impiety * of *Arminianiſm*, or of the Super- " ſtition of *Popery*.

Upon this Advice the unhappy young Man immediately began to[1] warp towards

* By the courſe of the Hiſtory, and the manner of relating this Matter, ſtyling *Walker* only Mr. *Barwick's Pupil* and *young Man*, without the Title ſo much as of Bachelor of Arts, one would conclude it happened in the beginning of the Long Parliament, while that young Man was only Under-Graduate. But then it will be hard to reconcile what is here added, that *on this Advice he immediately began to warp*, unleſs it be meant of what might poſſibly be obſerved of him by ſome few that were intimate with him, and was unknown to others; for ſome Time after this, *viz.* before the ſending away the Univerſity Plate to the King, which was in *Auguſt* 1642, he was ſtill ſo zealous in the Royal Cauſe, as publickly to certify againſt the Rebels, by a Paper delivered into the Regiſter's-Office under his Hand, and that of another of his College (if not alſo confirm'd by their Oaths) that they and diverſe others had Muskets ſeveral

the *Puritans*, and was afterwards promoted to be Chaplain, in his new Way of Worſhip, to the Earl of [m] *Warwick*, the Lord High

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ral Times diſcharged in at their Windows. (*Querel. Cantabr.* p. 4.) and above a Year after that, he was, it ſeems, ſo well recommended to the King, that my very worthy Friend Mr. *Baker* informs me from the College, that they have a *Mandat* from his Majeſty dated *Oxford December* the 11th, 1643. to admit *Anthony Walker*, B. A. into the next Fellowſhip that ſhould become void in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*; but probably this *Mandat* was too late, the Ejectments beginning ſoon after: It is certain he was never Fellow. I know not how long it was after this, that Mr. *Walker* wrote the Life of his Grandfather Mr. *Bois*: My learned Friend now mentioned, (who has a Manuſcript of it) tells me, it was written in the Times, and that he expreſſes his Loyalty therein; but as his Teſtimony concerning himſelf, in a Piece that I ſuppoſe was never publiſhed, is of no great Weight: So it is no little Abatement to what ſome may be willing to infer in his Favour from the *Mandat* of King *Charles* the Firſt, that after he had ſufficiently diſcovered himſelf, and been Chaplain to the Admiral of the Rebels, he yet found Means to obtain a *Mandat* alſo from King *Charles* the Second, for the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, dated *December* the 4th, 1662. wherein it is ſaid, *Having received good Teſtimonies of the orthodox Learning,—loyal Affection,— of* A. W. *Maſter of Arts; and that for his Conſtancy to us and the Church,—he was by the then uſurping Powers diſabled from taking that Degree*, &c. theſe are too often Things in courſe, and ſeveral of the Presbyterian Stamp had Degrees.

[m] *Robert*, the ſecond Earl of the preſent Family of *Rich*, now Earls of *Warwick* and *Holland*, and Lords *Rich* from the Firſt of *Edward* VI. His Father *Robert* was created Earl of *Warwick* the ſixth of *Auguſt*, 16. *Jac. Anno* 1618. and died *March* 4. the ſame Year: He died *April* 18. 1658. and was ſucceeded in that Honour by his two Sons ſucceſſively, *Robert* and *Charles*, who both dying without Iſſue Male (*Robert*, *May* 29. 1659. and *Charles Auguſt* 24. 1675.) the Honour deſcended to *Robert* Earl of *Holland*, Son and Heir to this Earl's younger Brother *Henry*, who had been made Lord *Kenſington*, 8. *Mar.* 20. *Jac.* and Earl of

High Admiral of the Rebels Fleet; but the Perſon himſelf who gave him this ill Advice, was afterwards very ill treated, even by thoſe in whoſe Favour he had done it. Mr. *Barwick* was ſomething concerned at theſe Reproaches from his Friends, as little as he was ever moved with thoſe of his Enemies: Indeed it was his conſtant Cuſtom to return with all the good Offices in his Power whatever ill was ſpoken againſt him by any one.

That unhappy Parliament, from which ſuch great Hopes were conceived by theſe candid Gentlemen, not to ſay credulous to their own Hurt, had not ſat long, before they began to attempt Innovations, to throw all Things into Confuſion, to invade the Liberty of every good Subject, and even ſome of their Lives, eſpecially thoſe two great Men, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* [n],

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of *Holland*, 24. *Sept.* 22. *Jac.* His Son *Robert*, the ſecond Earl of *Warwick* and *Holland*, was Father to *Edward* the late Earl, and Grandfather to *Edward Henry* the preſent Earl. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 387, *&c. Britiſh Comp.* or *Rudiments of Honour, Vol.* 1. p. 95, 96.

[n] See his Life by his Chaplain Dr. *Heylin*, and the *Hiſtory of his Troubles* and *Trial*, by Mr. *Wharton*.

and *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*°, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whoſe Praiſes will be celebrated in all Ages for their Prudence, Piety, and Greatneſs of Mind, as born to ſuccour their afflicted Country. Theſe two conſummate Stateſmen, who under the beſt of Kings had hitherto reſtrained within ſome Bounds the

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° Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Son and Heir to Sir *William Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, Bart. (a very antient and honourable Family) Knight of the Shire for that County in many Parliaments, and for his great Abilities ſoon choſen of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; and *July* 22[d] in the fourth Year of his Reign advanced to the Title of Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, and on the 10[th] of *December* following to that of Viſcount *Wentworth*: After this he was conſtituted Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and on the 12[th] of *January*, *Anno* 1639. 15. *Car.* made Baron *Raby* (by Reaſon of his Deſcent from that great Family of *Nevill*, ſometime Lords of that Place) and Earl of *Strafford*; and laſtly, Knight of the Garter. On the Inſurrection of the *Scots Anno* 1639. he was called Home, and made Lieutenant General of the Forces rais'd againſt that Invaſion. He was alſo L. Lieutenant of *Yorkſhire*, and Preſident of the North. To remove this great Man out of their Way, who were then plotting, and afterwards effected the Ruin of our Religion and Government, the Parliament by diverſe unjuſtifiable Devices, at length paſs'd a ſpecial Bill for his Attainder, with a Clauſe that it ſhould not be drawn into a Precedent; and having by ſundry indirect Practices extorted the Royal Aſſent to it, he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill May* the 12[th], 1641. His Son *William* was reſtored to all his Father's Honours, 17 *Car.* 2. and made Knight of the Garter, who dying without Iſſue, left the Bulk of his Eſtate to his Siſter's Son *Thomas Watſon*, Eſq; ſecond ſurviving Son of *Edward* Lord *Rockingham*, and Brother to the preſent Earl of *Rockingham*, who thereupon changed his Name to *Wentworth*, and is lately deceas'd, and the Eſtate deſcended to his worthy Son *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouſe*, Eſq; See *Dugd. Baron. T.* 2. *p.* 463. *Britiſh Compend.* or *Rudiments of Honour*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 173, *&c.* See alſo his Trial in *Ruſhw. Collect.*

Madneſs

Madneſs of thoſe ſeditious Men furiouſly raging againſt Church and State, are now to be offered up as Sacrifices to their outrageous Violence, leſt their Prince, whom the Rebels had devoted to Deſtruction, ſhould receive any Counſel from them in his arduous Affairs, or any Conſolation in his Adverſity. After this the Faction rave with the greateſt Impudence againſt the King himſelf, diſcharge whole Loads of Scandal upon his ſacred Head, and in their infamous Libels, called Remonſtrances, ſtuff'd with all ſorts of Lies, and publiſhed in Print, expoſe to the common People's Hatred, a Prince above all *Encomiums* the beſt in the World, and trample the Royal Authority under their Feet: Nor content with this they raiſe Forces againſt his Majeſty from all Quarters, and charge him in the Field Sword in Hand: They make themſelves Maſters of his Caſtles and Forts, ſeize upon his Fleet, and plunder his Exchequer. And now to make all poſſible Oppoſition againſt a Rebellion that ravaged with ſo much Fury, was the Duty of all good Subjects, who had a juſt Regard for their antient Conſtitution, for the beſt of Kings, for the Religion of their Anceſtors, and for all their

ſacred and civil Intereſts. Among theſe Mr. *Barwick* reſolved not to perform his Duty by Halves. And firſt in concert with the moſt conſiderable of the King's Friends in the Univerſity, he took Care, for his Majeſty's Support, to tranſmit to him what little [a] Money could be raiſed in the ſeveral Colleges,

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[a] What the Sum was which the Univerſity was able to ſend his Majeſty, I do not find; but the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, (which gives the beſt Account of this Matter I have met with) modeſtly calls it, *a ſmall and inconſiderable Sum of Money*; and ſays, that the Occaſion of their *collecting out of their Poverty, and tendring* their Sovereign that *ſmall Pittance*, was a Letter of his Majeſty's to their Vice-Chancellor (then Dr. *Richard Holdſworth* Maſter of *Emanuel* College) *acquainting the Univerſity with his extream Want*. The Date of that Letter appears, as well as the particular Sum which St. *John*'s College contributed towards that Supply, from an original Receipt preſerved in a little Box among the Archives in that College Treaſury, and communicated to me by my very worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Baker*, in theſe Words.

July 2d, 1642.

Received the Day and Year above written of *William Beale* Doctor in Divinity, Maſter of St. *John*'s College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for the King's Uſe, (according to the Intendment and Direction of his Majeſty's Letters of the 29th of *June* laſt to the Vice-Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſity) the Sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds. I ſay received from the Treaſury of the ſaid College, by me

John Poley.

This *John Poley* was Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, and one of the Proctors that Year, and appears to have been employed and entruſted by the King in this Buſineſs of the Money, as well as in that of the Plate afterwards, not only from this Receipt, and another that will be mentioned preſently, but alſo from Leave given

Colleges, out of their moderate Incomes, and what * Plate had been at any Time beſtowed upon them for the Uſe of each

C 4 Society

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given him by the Univerſity to execute the Office of Proctor by a Deputy, on account of his being employed in the King's Buſineſs, and this by a Grace of *October* 10, 1642. extant in the Univerſity Regiſter among the *Gratia conceſſa*, and communicated to me by the ſame learned Hand.

* The Univerſity, upon the King's Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of *June* 29. juſt now mentioned, having contributed a *ſmall Pittance of Money to their Sovereign's extream Neceſſity*, his Majeſty was apprehenſive, that *this Teſtimony, not only of Loyalty to him as their King, and Gratitude as their moſt gracious and bountiful Protector and Benefactor, but alſo of Charity to him as a Chriſtian then in extream Want and Neceſſity*, would not fail to bring a Storm upon them from the Rebels, whom a leſs Booty than that of the Univerſity Plate had tempted to plunder in other Places, and therefore *of his Care and Tenderneſs offered to ſecure that Treaſure, if they were content to depoſite it in his Hands*, and for that end wrote another Letter to the Vice-Chanceller, with Directions, *to take an exact Survey of it, not only for the Weight, but alſo of the Form of every Piece together with the Names, Arms, and Mottoes of the reſpective Donors, that if perhaps his Majeſty could not preſerve it entire as it was, he might reſtore it hereafter in the ſame Weight and Form, and with the ſame Marks, all which he graciouſly aſſured upon his Royal Word.* This Account we have of this Matter in the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, p. 2, 3, 4. But neither is there any Copy of this Letter on the Vice-Chancellor's Book, nor do I find any Account of the Date of it, or of what Plate was ſent in the whole: But in the Treaſury of St. *John*'s College, together with the Receipt of one hundred and fifty Pounds abovementioned, is preſerved a moſt exact and particular Account of what Plate that College delivered in for his Majeſty's Uſe, with the Weight, Form and Names of the chief Benefactors, as directed by the King's Letter: In Honour to the College, of which I was many Years an unworthy Member, and for the Reader's Satisfaction, I ſhall here ſubjoin that Acconnt, as it was tranſmitted to me by the ſame learned Friend.

Agreed

Society, by the Bounty of their Benefactors. But this could not be effected without firſt outwitting *Cromwell*, who had been appriz'd

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Agreed by the Maſter and Seniors *Auguſt* 8, 1642. that theſe pieces of Plate underwritten ſhould be ſent to the King's Majeſty, and depoſited in his Hands for the Security thereof, and Service of his Majeſty, according to the Tenor of his Majeſty's late Letters, written to the Vice-Chancellor, and publiſhed to the Univerſity.

	Unc.
Pots with two Ears, *Clippeſley*, *Crew*, *Theodore Beacon*, *John Lucat*, *Thomas Wentworth*, &c. Number 22. Weight	559 ¾
Tankards, *Frances* Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Thomas Bourchier*, *Thomas Fairfax*, &c. Number 17. Weight	325
Standing Pieces and other Boules, Dr. *Guin*, *Val. Carey* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *John* Lord *Rochford*, *Algernoon* Lord *Percy*, Sir *Dudley North*, *John* and *Henry Maynards*, *John Howland*, &c. Number 41. Weight	907 ¾
Beakers, *Richard Aſhton*, &c. Number 7. Weight	82
Salts, Lord *Roſs*, *William Platt*, *John Lowther*, &c. Number 6. Weight	83
A Baſon in Ewre having the Col. Arms, and twelve Names upon it, Weight	108 ½
The Weight of the aforeſaid Particulars, according to Grocers Weight is	2065 ½

Aug. 8th 1642.

I do acknowledge, that there has been delivered unto me in the Name and Behalf of the Maſter, Fellows, and Scholars of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge* two Fir Boxes, marked with theſe three Letters S. J. C. containing in them all the ſeveral pieces of Plate abovewritten, which ſaid Plate weigheth, as appears by the Particulars, 2065 Ounces ½ (it ſhould be 2065 Ounces ¾) more or leſs, which they depoſite into the King's Hands for the Security thereof, and his Majeſty's Service, according

appriz'd of their Deſign by ſome of the Townſmen of *Cambridge* (by whoſe Intereſt he had been choſen Member of Parliament for that Town) and with a diſorderly Band of Peaſants on Foot, lay in wait for the rich Booty at a Place called *Lowler Hedges*, betwixt *Cambridge* and *Huntington*. But Mr. *Barwick* and ſome other ſelect Perſons of the Univerſity, to whoſe Care and Prudence the Management of this important Affair was committed, having got Intelligence of *Cromwell*'s Way-laying them, ſend away the Royal Supply through By-Roads, convoy'd by a ſmall Party of Horſe, that very Night in which *Cromwell* with his Foot beſet the common Road, or elſe the Spoil had the next Morning certainly fallen into the Enemy's Hands. He that was made choice of to conduct this Expedition,

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cording to the Tenor of his Majeſty's Letters, written and directed to the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity.

John Poley.

Moſt probably *Thomas Wentworth* and *Thomas Fairfax* mentioned among the Benefactors, were afterwards the Earl of *Strafford* and General *Fairfax*, both of this College. And *William Platt*, the Founder of the Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips called by his Name: The College ſtill preſerves in a Bowl or Cup, a Memorial of the Earl of *Strafford*.

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was the Reverend Mr. ° *Barnaby Oley*, a Man of great Prudence, and very well acquainted with all the By-Ways, through which they were to paſs. He was Preſident of *Clare-Hall*; and none more proper to be the Meſſenger of the Univerſity's Duty and Affection to their moſt gracious Sovereign and deareſt Counrry: For I queſtion whether *Cambridge* ever bred a Perſon of more Learning, accompanied with ſo great Modeſty, and ſuch an exemplary Holineſs of Life. Under the Protection of God's good Providence he arrived ſafe at *Nottingham*, where he had the Honour to lay at his Majeſty's Feet this ſmall Teſtimony and Earneſt of

° He was Vicar of *Great Granſden* in *Huntingtonſhire* fifty three Years, and a conſiderable Benefactor to that Pariſh, as appears from an Inſcription in that Church. After ſuffering much by the Rebellion, he was in 1660 reſtored to his Fellowſhip and Vicaridge, and *Sept.* 4th that Year inſtall'd Prebendary of *Worceſter*: In 1679 he was promoted to the Arch-deaconry of *Ely*, which Dignity he afterwards voluntarily reſign'd, in his great Humility not thinking himſelf ſufficient to diſcharge the Duty of it; which corrects a Miſtake of Mr. *Wood's*, (*Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 850. *Edit.* 1.) that Dr. *Saywell* ſucceeded in the Arch-deaconry on Mr. *Oley's* deceaſe; for it was on his Reſignation. He died *Feb.* 20, 1685-6. not (as Dr. *Walker* thinks) *about the Year* 1684. (*Suff. of the Clergy, P.* 2. *p.* 142.) where you have a more particular Account of his Sufferings and Benefactions.

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the Univerſity's Loyalty at that very Time, when the Royal Standard [o] was ſet up in the Caſtle there, ſummoning the King's good Subjects from all Parts to the Performance of their Faith and true Allegiance.

Theſe Things were tranſacted at that Time, when that incomparable Prince too juſtly complain'd [p], *that his Rebel Subjects had*

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[o] This heroick Action was undertaken at leaſt *about the beginning of Auguſt* 1642. *before either his Majeſty's Standard was erected, or his Proclamation iſſued out to that end*, as is obſerv'd, (*Querel. Cantabr. p.* 4.) and that yet *many had ſuffered for it, as Fomenters of the War*, not then begun on the King's ſide, *viz.* not when the Univerſity *endeavoured to convey away* to his Majeſty, *ſome part of their Plate.* (*Id. ibid.*) nor when they actually ſent it, which it ſeems was not till ſome Days after, probably through their Apprehenſion of Danger from *Cromwell*, who (we are told *id. ibid.*) *within a few Days after was ſent down by his Maſters above, at the Invitation of his Maſters below, to gather what Strength he could, to ſtop all Paſſages, that no Plate might be ſent.* I ſuppoſe this was not long doing; however what theſe Loyaliſts were *endeavouring about the beginning of Auguſt*, before Notice could be given of it above, and *Cromwell* ſent down to prevent it, and Strength gathered for that Purpoſe, they were not able to effect till towards the end of that Month, *viz.* on the 25th, the Day the Royal Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*.

[p] Moſt probably this Complaint was made in thoſe *Royal Letters* of *June* the 29th abovementioned, *by which* (we are told *Querel. Cantabr. p.* 3.) *his ſacred Majeſty daigned to acquaint his poor Univerſity with his ſtrange Wants, even of Suſtenance for his very Houſhold:* A Letter that made ſuch an Impreſſion on thoſe his loyal Subjects, that (as it immediately follows in the ſame Author) their *Hearts burned within* them, *to hear that the King their living Founder ſhould almoſt ſtarve, when* they *had Bread on their Table*;

had not left him out of his Revenues enough to preſerve him from Starving. This glorious Undertaking of the Univerſity, to ſend ſome Relief to the King, not long ſince incircled with the Rays of Majeſty, but now almoſt ready to periſh for Want, exceedingly galled the Arch-Rebel *Cromwell*, and the reſt of the Parliament of that Faction, who would have deſtroyed the King either by Sword or Famine, though he had deſerv'd more of them all, than any of his Royal Anceſtors; and they had actually engaged their Allegiance to him by more than one Oath: And this that very King, whoſe Majeſty they moſt ſolemnly undertook to

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Table; by which it is plain they underſtood his Majeſty to be *then in extream Want and Neceſſity*, as they expreſs'd it afterwards. But there being no Copy of that Letter on the Vice-Chancellor's Book, we cannot ſay in what particular Terms this too juſt Complaint of his Majeſty was therein expreſs'd, though moſt probably it was in thoſe of our Author, which are not more pathetick and affecting, than another Complaint of the ſame Nature, mentioned by Mr. *Symmonds* to have been made by this perſecuted Prince; when having travelled from *Shrewſbury* to *Wrexham* in *Denbighſhire*, and being to return the ſame Night, his Majeſty diſmiſs'd the Gentry (deſiring his Stay) with theſe Words: "Gentlemen, go you and take your Reſts; for "you have Homes and Houſes to go to, and Beds of your own "to lodge in, and God grant you may long enjoy them; but I "am depriv'd of thoſe Comforts: I muſt intend my preſent "Affairs, and return this Night to the Place from whence I "came." *Parallel between the Sufferings of our Saviour and our Sovereign, at the end of his Vindication of King* Charles, p. 242.

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exalt and render far more glorious over all the World, than it had ever yet been: Thus impoſing upon the ignorant Multitude with their holy Frauds and Deluſions, leſt they ſhould not run headlong enough, not only upon their own Ruin, but upon the Deſtruction of the beſt of Kings.

For this Reaſon *Cromwell*, inferior to none in watching and employing all Opportunities to ruin his Country, when he perceiv'd himſelf over-reach'd by the Sagacity of the *Cambridge* Gentlemen, began to be extremely exaſperated and enraged, and reſolved to make the Univerſity pay dearly for daring to perform this Duty to their diſtreſſed Sovereign; for out of the ſeven [q] *aſſociated Counties* (as they were called) which partly by Fraud and fair Words he had enticed, and partly by Terror and Force he had compelled into this wicked Confederacy, he muſtered up a Pack of moſt inſolent Wretches, and quartered them upon *Cambridge*, as their chief Garriſon and Rendezvous; ſubjugating to the Controul of

[q] *viz.* Thoſe of *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new Addition) *Lincoln*. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 2. p. 322. *Edit.* 8vo.

every

every pitiful common Soldier, all the beſt and moſt learned Men in the Univerſity, even thoſe venerable Perſons already ſinking beneath the Weight of their many Years, as much as under the Oppreſſion of this new Tyranny. Being thus attended with a Company of hair-brain'd mad Fellows, not unworthy of their Leader, he commits the utmoſt Barbarities againſt the ſeveral Colleges, breaks open their Gates in the dead Time of the Night, and lets in Bands of armed Ruffians, prepared to murther the whole Society at one Blow, upon the leaſt Signal that ſhould be given them by their mad Commander: They take Poſſeſſion as they pleaſe of every private Chamber: They pull down the Walls, and burn all the Wood Work of the Libraries, and making Plunder of the Books, ſell them for a tenth Part of their Value. The Groves, and Arbours, and Hedges in the publick College-Walks they cut down like ſo many Copſes deſign'd for no other Uſe; and ſecuring with Guards and broken Gates all the Paſſages out of the Town, they ſhut up within it, as in a larger Priſon, all the Members of the Univerſity, except thoſe (not a few) whom they more cloſely con-

fined in Dungeons, leſt they ſhould have any Benefit of the open Air, infected as it was but too much with the Stench and Vermine of ſo many naſty Soldiers. All the Heads of Houſes, together with the [t] Vice-Chancellor, ſolemnly aſſembled in Conſiſtory, they detain'd their Priſoners till Midnight, though moſt of them above ſixty Years of Age, and that in very cold Weather; becauſe they would not give their Votes in their Favour, but moſt expreſly and unanimouſly voted againſt them, reſolved rather to periſh with Hunger and Cold, than give the leaſt Countenance to their Rebellion; and at laſt, as it were with one Blow to deſtroy the whole Univerſity, they baniſh from its Senate, and from their ſeveral Colleges the venerable [u] Profeſſors of Divinity and Law, famous for

[t] Dr. *Holdſworth* abovementioned. See *Querel. Cantab. p.* 10.

[u] Dr. *Samuel Collins*, D. D. Provoſt of *King's*-College, and *Regius Profeſſor* of Divinity. Dr. *Samuel Ward*, D. D. Maſter of *Sidney Suſſex* College, and Lady *Margaret's* Profeſſor of Divinity. Dr. *Thomas Goad*, LL. D. Fellow of *King's* College, was undoubtedly Law Profeſſor at the Time of the Ejectments: But Mr. *Baker* much doubts, whether he alſo was ejected, becauſe he finds him appointed one of the Feoffees in Truſt for the Univerſity *April* 23, 1646. and again *July* 24. the ſame Year, and *February* 17. 1652. *Regr. Acad.* He alſo finds this mention of him

for their Learning over all the World, together with the Vice-Chancellor and about [t] two hundred more of their moſt conſiderable and learned Men, and put Blockheads for the moſt Part, and ſenſeleſs Scoundrels in their Places. They likewiſe turn out of the Univerſity many other extraordinary Perſons of the ſame Order, whom their cruel Uſage of theſe had not been able, as they vainly hoped, to frighten from their Duty to God and the King, and that after they had plunder'd them of every Thing except their good Conſcience. But Mr. *Barwick*, no inconſiderable Part of this Tragedy, together with others of the Univerſity, groaning under the ſame Yoak of Tyranny, and each taking a particular Account of the Sufferings of his own College, gave a diſtinct Narrative of all theſe Barbarities, and under

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him in a Manuſcript Catalogue of Archbiſhop *Teniſon's*, taken betwixt the Years 1650, and 1660. *Thomas Goad*, LL. D. 1630. *Legis Civilis publicus Acad. Profeſſor etiamnum vivit.*

[t] Dr. *William Beale* Maſter of St. *John's* College. Dr. *Edward Martin* Provoſt of *Queen's* College, and Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Maſter of *Jeſus* College, all three carried Priſoners to *London* by *Cromwell* immediately after; and in Revenge for his being diſappointed of the Univerſity Plate, which he Way-lay'd in its Paſſage to the King, kept there cloſe confin'd in the Tower and other Priſons ſome Years, particularly in the noiſome Hold of a Ship. (*Querel. Cantabr.* p. 5, 6. at the end of which you have a Liſt of the *Heads, Fellows*, &c. *ejected, plunder'd*, &c.)

‡ the

the Title of *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, or the *Univerſity of Cambridge*'s *Complaint*, got it printed by the Care of Mr. *Richard* [u] *Royſton* a Bookſeller of *London*, who did great Service to his King and Country, by printing and diſperſing in the moſt difficult Times, Books written in Defence of the Royal Cauſe. And indeed, before this *Complaint* of the Deſtruction of the Univerſity, breath'd out as her laſt dying Groans, and ſent Abroad among the People, Mr. *Barwick* had alſo publiſhed another Work, little in Bulk, but of great Learning, written by him, and ſome other very learned *Cantabrigians*, and fortified with irrefragable Arguments againſt that wicked Aſſociation, which the Rebels ſtyl'd the *National Covenant*, and intitled [w] *Certain Diſquiſitions*, &c. But the

D Fac-

[u] There is this Account of him on his Grave-Stone, on the South Side of the Chancel at *Chriſt* Church in *London*. Here lyeth interr'd the Body of *Richard Royſton*, Eſq; Citizen of *London*, and Bookſeller to three Kings, who died in the 86th Year of his Age, and in the Year of our Lord 1686. See the Teſtimony given of his Loyalty, and what he did and ſuffered for the Crown, in the Patent granted him by King *Charles* the Second, *Nov.* 29, 1660. for printing the Works of his Royal Father.

[w] The whole Title of this Tract, as publiſhed at *Oxford*, 1644. runs thus.

Certain

Faction, who had too much Intereſt in preventing the Publication of this Piece, having got Intelligence thereof, ſent their Meſſengers

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Certain Diſquiſitions and Conſiderations repreſenting to the Conſcience the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath, intitled, A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation, *&c. As alſo the Inſufficiency of the Arguments uſed in the Exhortation for taking the ſaid Covenant. Publiſhed by Command. Oxford* 1644. It contains forty nine Pages in Quarto, beſides the Printer's Poſtſcript to the Reader, in theſe Words following.

" Gentle Reader, A Copy of the foregoing Diſquiſitions ac-
" cidentally coming to the Hands of ſome, at whoſe Com-
" mand I am, was thought fit to be publiſhed, though without
" the Knowledge and Approbation of the Authors. The Fit-
" neſs of the Subject, the Worth of the Work, and a peculiar
" relation to the Authors (if I Miſtake them not) may be a
" ſufficient Motive both for their Command, and my Undertak-
" ing. Conſider it ſeriouſly, and if thou art not yet engaged
" in the Covenant, this will confirm thee in thy Reſolution
" againſt it: If thou art, this by the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace
" may bring thee to a timely Repentance. I cannot but ad-
" moniſh thee this one Thing, *viz.* That I have gone exactly
" according to the Copy, even in thoſe Phraſes, which reſemble
" the *Genius* of the Place where it was compoſed, more than
" where it is publiſhed; only the Faults which have eſcaped, I
" deſire may be imputed to me, and thoſe many Tranſcribers,
" whoſe Hands it paſſed, before it could come to mine.

This Poſtſcript would induce one to imagine, that theſe *Diſquiſitions* were never printed before, either at *Cambridge* or *London*, notwithſtanding what is here ſaid by our Author, eſpecially ſince Mr. *Gunning*, in whoſe Hands the Copy probably was, was in all likelihood at *Oxford* when the Book was printed. Mr. *Wood* ſays he went thither in the beginning of the Year 1644. if not before. *Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 577. But we have a better Authority for this even than Mr. *Wood's*; for in a Journal of Biſhop *Gunning's* Life (amongſt his Papers) taken or finiſh'd when he was Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and written in a different Hand from his, but corrected with his own Hand (as my learned Friend Mr. *Baker* who obliged me with this Account aſſures

ſengers unexpectedly to the Preſs, and ſeizing upon the Impreſſion, committed it immediately to the Flames; yet ſome few Co-

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aſſures me) there is the following Paſſage. In the Year 1643. *May* 1. I was expelled the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for preaching a Sermon in St. *Mary*'s againſt the Covenant, as well as for the refuſing the Covenant. In the ſame Year I went with my Friend Mr. *Iſaac Barrow* to *Oxford*, where I continued to the Year 1646; yet Dr. *Gower* in his Sermons on the Death of Biſhop *Gunning*, having mentioned the Occaſion of this Work (a Particular which I have met no where elſe, but in *Wood*, who ſeems to have taken it from him) *viz.* Mr. *Gunning*'s urging the Univerſity vehemently and convincingly (in a Sermon preach'd before them at St. *Mary*'s) to publiſh a formal Proteſtation againſt the rebellious League, adds, that the good Work was thereupon preſently begun and ſoon finiſh'd; but could not be publiſhed in the Name of the whole Corporation, and conſequently not at *Cambridge*, becauſe one Man, who alone could hinder it, would not permit it to be done.——— But however printed it was, though moſt of the Impreſſion was ſeiz'd at *London*, before it could get Abroad. *Serm.* p. 17. An Account which agrees ſo exactly with this of our Author, that I ſhould ſuſpect it was taken from hence, only that his Manuſcript of this Life was not yet lodg'd in the Library of St. *John*'s College: Beſides that one Particular of it, that of Mr. *Gunning*'s preſſing the Univerſity to publiſh ſuch a *Proteſtation*, being not taken Notice of by Dr. *Barwick*, muſt be owing to ſome other Information. I ſhould therefore conclude, he had it from Biſhop *Gunning* himſelf, only that as his Lordſhip in the Paſſage of his Journal abovementioned, though he takes Notice of his Sermon in St. *Mary*'s againſt the Covenant (moſt probably the ſame which Dr. *Gower* ſpeaks of,) and that he was expell'd for preaching it, yet ſays nothing of his having therein urged the Univerſity to publiſh any Proteſtation againſt the League: So neither there, nor in any other part of that Journal, is there any mention of theſe *Certain Diſquiſitions*, ſuppoſed to be drawn up for that Proteſtation. But there is an Objection againſt this Account of Dr. *Gower*'s, which is of equal Force alſo againſt our Author's, and it is this; that Dr. *Brownrigg*, the *one Man* meant by the former, and the *venerable*

pies of it, privately conceal'd by the Book-ſellers, are ſtill extant. They who joined in the writing of this Paper, beſides Mr. *Barwick*, and Mr. *William* [x] *Lacy* of St. *John*'s College, were Mr. *Iſaac* [y] *Barrow* of

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venerable Perſon ſpoke of by the latter, as he that hindered the Publication of this Piece in *the Name of the Univerſity*, and as he *alone who could hinder it*, (*viz.* as Dr. *Barwick* ſays, in quality of Vice-Chancellor that Year) was not choſen Vice-Chancellor till *November* 1643. above ſix Months after Mr. *Gunning* was expell'd the Univerſity for preaching that Sermon, which is ſaid to have perſuaded and occaſioned theſe *Diſquiſitions*, and the Piece to have been *preſently begun and ſoon finiſhed* thereupon. It is poſſible indeed he might have acted as Deputy Vice-Chancellor, while Dr. *Holdſworth* the Vice-Chancellor was in Durance; but that is what does not appear. This again may deſerve a Place in the *Chronological Obſervations* promiſed on this Work.

[x] Born at *Beverley* in *Yorkſhire*, admitted Fellow of the College, *April* 5, 1636. and at this Time I ſuppoſe Bachelor of Divinity; for he is mentioned as ſuch in the Liſt of the ejected Fellows of St. *John*'s, ſubjoined to *Querela Cantabrigienſis*. He was probably admitted in that College before the Year 1629. becauſe his Admiſſion is not upon the College Regiſter, which begins not till that Year: But in the Univerſity Regiſter he is mentioned as Bachelor of Arts, *Anno* 1632, and Maſter of Arts, *Anno* 1636. After his Ejection he went into the King's Army, and became Chaplain to Prince *Rupert*: After the Reſtoration he proceeded Dr. of Divinity, but not immediately; for in my Lord *Mancheſter*'s Letter to the Maſter and Fellows of St. *John*'s for reſtoring him to his Fellowſhip, dated *Auguſt* 27, 1660. (which was executed *November* 2. the very Day it was received) he is only ſtiled B. D. By ſome of the *Savile* Family he was preferr'd to the rich Living of *Thornhill*, in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, where he died. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 149.

[y] Son of *Iſaac Barrow* of *Spiney* Abbey in *Cambridgeſhire*, Eſq; admitted of this Houſe *July* 6, 1629. choſen Scholar *February* 19, 1630. Library Keeper *March* 24, 1631. and relinquiſhed both thoſe

of *Peter-Houſe*; Mr. *Seth* [2] *Ward* of *Sidney*
D 3 College;

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thoſe Places, *February* 28, 1634. (*Regr. Coll. S. Petri Cantabr.*) *December* 20, 1641, he was inſtituted into the Vicaridge of *Hinton* in *Cambridgeſhire* on the College Preſentation. (*Regr. Elienſ*) Being ejected out of his Fellowſhip of that Houſe by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, *January* 13, 1644, he retired to *Oxford*, where Dr. *Pink* Warden of New College choſe him one of the Chaplains of that Houſe, on which Place he ſubſiſted till the Surrender of that Garriſon, and then was forced to ſhift for himſelf. Upon the Reſtoration he was inſtituted into the Rectory of *Downham* in *Cambridgeſhire*, *Auguſt* 27, 1660. on the College Preſentation, being then Dr. of Divinity, and quitted the Vicaridge of *Hinton* (*Regr. Elien.*) and I ſuppoſe it was about the ſame Time that he was made Fellow of *Eaton* College. *April* 11, 1663. on the Death of Dr. *Hale*, he with his Tutor Dr. *Skippen*, were by the Fellows of *Peter-Houſe* nominated to the Maſterſhip of that College, but the Biſhop, as Viſitor, choſe Dr. *Beaumont*. (*Regr. Coll. S. Petr.*) *June* 26, 1663, he reſign'd the Rectory of *Downham*, (*Regr. Elien.*) and *July* fifth following (not as Dr. *Walker* ſays in 1662) he was conſecrated Biſhop of the Iſle of *Man*, and next Year Governor of that Iſle, whence he was tranſlated to the See of St. *Aſaph*, *March* 21, 1669. and held the former in *Commendam* with it, till *October* 1671. He died *Anno* 1680. and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. See an Account of his great Charities and good Works, particularly in both thoſe Dioceſes. *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 658. 670. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part* 2. *p.* 152.

[2] Son of an Attorney of good Report in *Buntingford* in *Herfordſhire*, where he was born in *April* 1617. From Servitor to Dr. *Ward* Maſter of *Sidney* College he became Fellow, and was at that Time Maſter of Arts: After his Ejectment he liv'd with *Ralph Freeman* of *Aſpden* in *Hertfordſhire*, Eſq; till the end of the Civil War, when he became Chaplain to *Thomas* Lord *Wenman* of *Thame* Park in *Oxfordſhire*. In 1649 changing his loyal Principles, he was choſen Aſtronomy Profeſſor of *Oxford*, in the Place of Mr. *John Greaves* then ejected, but by his Approbation, and then proceeded Maſter of Arts there, and took the Engagement. In 1654. he proceeded Dr. of Divinity. In 1656. Biſhop *Brownrigg*, the ſilenced Biſhop of *Exeter*, made him Chantor of that Church: Next Year he was choſen Principal of *Jeſus* College in

College; Mr. *Edmund* [a] *Baldero*, and Mr. *William*

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in *Oxford*, but put by in favour of one *Howel*, a Creature of *Oliver*'s. In 1659. by Dr. *Ralph Bathurſt*'s Intereſt he was elected Preſident of *Trinity* College there, but being ſoon turn'd out by the right Owner, Dr. *Henry Potter*, he went to *London*, and upon Dr. *Reynolds*'s Advancement to the See of *Norwich*, ſucceeded him in the Vicaridge of St. *Lawrence Jewry*, and in the ſame Year 1660. was inſtall'd Chantor of *Exeter*, of which Church he ſoon after became Dean, and in the Year 1662. Biſhop; and from thence was tranſlated to *Salisbury*, *September* 12, 1667, *November* 25, 1671. he was made Chancellor of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, by the Reſtitution of that Office to that See, after it had been in lay Hands about a 154. Years: He died *January* 6, 1688. and was interr'd in that Cathedral. See an Account of his great Charities and good Works, as well as of his Writings, in *Wood*'s *Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 627, *&* *ſeqq.* Dr. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 159.

[a] A Native of St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury* in *Suffolk*, Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall, and moſt probably ejected, though not in the Catalogue of ejected Fellows, ſubjoin'd to *Querela Cantabrigienſis*; for 'tis certain the Earl of *Mancheſter* tendered him the Covenant, and encouraged him to offer what Scruples he had againſt it, to be reſolved by his Lordſhip's Chaplain then preſent, who refuſing to reſolve them, Mr. *Baldero* was ſent up Priſoner to *London* for propoſing them, and detained there under a long and chargeable Confinement. *Querel. Cantabr.* p. 25, 26. In a Manuſcript Hiſtory of *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, he is ſaid to have been formerly Preacher of St. *Lawrence* in *Ipſwich*, in *Suffolk*, Rector of *Harkſted* in the ſame County, and promoted to the Maſterſhip of that College, *April* 25, 1663. by Biſhop *Wren*, whoſe Chaplain he was, and who having formerly collated him to the Rectory of *Weſterfield* in *Suffolk*, afterwards inſtituted him into that of *Glenſford* in the ſame County, and into that of *Snaylwell* in *Cambridgeſhire*, in *Norwich* Dioceſe, on which he relinquiſh'd *Harkſted*. He is there alſo ſaid to have done and ſuffered much for King *Charles* the Firſt and Second, both in *England* and in *Scotland*, under the great Marqueſs of *Montroſs*: He commenc'd Dr. of Divinity, I ſuppoſe, immediately after the Reſtoration, was Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* in the Years 1668 and 1674. died on the fifth of *July* 1679. in the ſeventy ſecond

William [b] *Quarles* of *Pembroke* Hall, and that incomparable Diſputant againſt the Schiſmaticks Mr. *Peter* [c] *Gunning* of *Clare-*

D 4 *Hall,*

ſecond Year of his Age, as appears from the Inſcription on his Monument in the Choir of *Jeſus* College Chapel. See Dr. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 162.

[b] One of the ejected Fellows of this Hall and Maſter of Arts, as appears from the Catalogue at the end of *Querel. Cantabr.* moſt probably the ſame that was Proctor 1663. and ſome Time Preſident of that Hall, and a great Benefactor thereto. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 154.

[c] Son of *Peter Gunning*, Miniſter of *How* in *Kent*, born there on the 11th, and baptiz'd on the 16th of *January* 1613. bred up in the Free-School of *Canterbury*, and at fifteen Years of Age admitted in *Clare-Hall*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Barnabas Oley* abovementioned, *p.* 26. ſoon choſen Fellow of that Houſe; and when Maſter of Arts preferr'd to the Cure of Little St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*, by the Maſter and Fellows of *Peter* Houſe. After the Ejectment, retiring to *Oxford* with his Friend Mr. *Barrow* (as was mentioned above *p.* 35. *Note* [w]) with him he was choſen Chaplain of *New* College by the Warden Dr. *Pink*. In *July* 1644. he was incorporated Maſter of Arts of that Univerſity, and about the ſame Time became Curate to Mr. *Jaſper Mayne* at *Caſſington* near *Oxford*, which Cure he ſupplied about two Years (ſuffering many Abuſes from the Rebel Soldiers) ſtill officiating at *New* College, and alſo preaching often before the King and Parliament ſitting at *Oxford*; for which Service he was made Bachelor of Divinity, the Day before the Garriſon of *Oxford* ſurrendred to the Parliament: After that he was Tutor to *Chriſtopher*, afterwards Lord *Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Compton*; then he became Chaplain to Sir *Robert Shirley*, Father of *Robert*, afterwards Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, who ſettled a hundred Pound a Year on him for his Life. On Sir *Robert*'s dying in the Tower, a Priſoner for his Loyalty, he held a Congregation in the Chapel of *Exeter* Houſe in the *Strand*, preaching and performing Divine Service, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, where he had great Numbers flock'd to hear him, and was often ſent for and reprov'd by *Cromwell* on that Account. At the Reſtoration he took Poſ-

Hall, each of whom undertook his particular Share of this wicked Covenant to confute, and bringing his Part of the Work to Mr. *Gunning*'s Chamber, there they all conferr'd and agreed upon the whole.

Nor would the reſt of the Univerſity have doubted to give their publick Approbation to this Writing, by confirming it in a general Congregation of their whole Body, but

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ſeſſion of the Rectories of *Coteſmore* in *Rutland*, and *Stoke Brewen* in *Northamptonſhire*, to which he had long before a Title; He was alſo made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, and had been preferr'd to the Vicaridge of St. *Martin's*, but that it was thought more for the Publick Service to fix him for a while at *Cambridge*, where having commenc'd Dr. of Divinity, he was made Maſter of *Corpus-Chriſti*, and ſoon after of St. *John*'s College, and firſt Lady *Margaret*'s, and then *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, on Dr. *Tuckney*'s removal from that Chair, and St. *John*'s Maſterſhip; to whom though legally ejected from both, he allowed a hundred Pounds a Year for his Life. *March* 6, 1669. he was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter* on the Death of Dr. *King*; and upon that of Biſhop *Laney*, *March* 4, 1674. was thence tranſlated to *Ely*: In all his Promotions firſt thought of by his Prince or Patron, without the leaſt Application from himſelf. He died *July* 6, 1684. in the ſeventy firſt Year of his Age, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral: He left his Library, which was a very valuable one, to St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, and what remained at his Death, after his great Endowments and numerous Charities of all ſorts in his Life Time, he by his laſt Will directed ſhould be laid out for the Augmentation of poor Vicaridges. See a farther Account of him in Dr. *Gower*'s two Sermons preach'd on Occaſion of his Death, and in Dr. *Jenkins*'s Lapidary Verſes prefix'd to thoſe Sermons. See alſo *Wood*'s *Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 577, 578. and Dr. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 142.

that

that they were hinder'd by that venerable Perſon, who had before, as was mentioned above (p. 16.) corrupted a very hopeful Youth, and dear Pupil of Mr. *Barwick*'s, to the manifeſt Injury both of the young Scholar and his Tutor, and the Offence of every good Man, medling where he had nothing to do; and who at this Time preſiding over the Univerſity as [u] Vice-Chancellor, would permit nothing of the Nature of this Writing to be propos'd in the Regent-Houſe, whether (as many thought) that he was no Friend to theſe *Arminians* (as the Compilers of that Tract were calumnioufly ſtiled, though not the leaſt addicted to any Sect whatever) or rather (as he himſelf gave out) that he apprehended, ſuch a Step might bring upon the Univerſity what the Rebels at that Time threatned to ſome of their greateſt Men and moſt learned Heads (ſuch as Dr. *William* [x] *Beale*, Dr. *Edward* [x] *Martin*, and Dr. *Richard* [x] *Stern*) Tranſportation into the Iſles of *America*, or even to the barbarous Turks: For theſe great Men,

[u] See Note [w] p. 36.
[x] See Note [t] p. 32.

and ſeveral other very eminent Divines were kept cloſe Priſoners in a [y] Ship on the *Thames*, under the Hatches, almoſt killed with Stench, Hunger, and Watching, and treated by the ſenſeleſs Mariners with more Inſolence, than if they had been the vileſt Slaves, or had been confin'd there for ſome infamous Robbery or Murther. Nay one [z] *Rigby*, a Scoundrel of the very Dregs of the Parliament Rebels, did at that Time expoſe theſe venerable Perſons to ſale, and would actually have ſold them for Slaves, if any one would have bought them. And indeed the Reverend Vice-Chancellor had but too much Reaſon to be concern'd for the pub-

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[y] The Name of the Ship was the *Proſperous Sayle*, or the *Proſperous Sayler*. It lay before *Wapping*, where no leſs than eighty Priſoners of Quality were crowded under the Hatches, without ſo much as Straw to lye on, though the Decks ſo low, they could not ſtand upright. The three Maſters of Colleges abovementioned, after almoſt a Year's Impriſonment in the Tower, and in the Lord *Petre*'s Houſe, were ſhut up here by Order of the Mock Parliament on *Friday Auguſt* 11, 1643. *Mercur. Ruſtic.* xii. *p.* 115, 116.

[z] *Alexander Rigby* (ſtyled) *the Lawyer*, Querel. Cantabr. p. 6. and *a beloved Member* (I ſuppoſe of the Long Parliament) *Dugd. Short View*, ch. xliv. p. 577. where he is ſaid to have moved twice, *that thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which were Priſoners* (for no Cauſe, but being *Malignants*, as they term'd them) *ſhould be ſold as Slaves to* Argiere, *or ſent to the new Plantations in the* Weſt-Indies, becauſe he had contracted with two Merchants for that Purpoſe.

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lick Buildings of the Univerſity, and even for the Lives of its Members, both at that Time in no little Danger from a wicked Race of Men, or rather of Beaſts in Mens Shape. Yet theſe generous Souls were aſhamed of the old Man's Timorouſneſs, which in their Opinion was far more than there was Occaſion for, though afterwards he behaved himſelf like a good Subject. And it increas'd their Concern for his Want of Courage, that after a few Years the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by a publick Decree of their Senate, confirm'd a like [a] Paper of very weighty Reaſons drawn up againſt the ſame unrighteous Covenant. A very heroick Act this indeed, and that in a Conjuncture of Time not much different from this of their Siſter Univerſity; only that theſe moſt violent Reformers began then to act with a little more Temper, and to be mad under ſome Rule, no longer contriving how to deſtroy whatever belonged ei-

[a] Printed in the Year 1647. under this Title, *Reaſons of the preſent Judgment of the Univerſity of* Oxford *concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinances concerning Diſcipline and Worſhip, approved by general Conſent in a full Convocation,* June 1, 1647. *and preſented to Conſideration,* 4to, containing 35 Pages.

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ther to the Univerſity in general, or to each Member thereof in particular; but to preſerve it for themſelves, that there might be ſomething left for them to be Maſters of, when at laſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of all the three Kingdoms. Yet they purſued with equal Hatred at leaſt, if not with equal Madneſs, all in general, whether *Cantabrigians* or *Oxonians*, who paid an equal Duty to their moſt excellent Prince, and Regard to our antient Conſtitution, and with an equal Degree of Piety and Affection, were not afraid to aſſert the Cauſe of the Church of *England*, the pureſt Part of the Catholick Church, according to the different Conjuncture of Time, with the Loſs of their Liberty, or even the Effuſion of their Blood, but certainly with the inevitable Forfeiture of their Eſtates. And however it happened, that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* had the Precedence in this moſt noble Conflict, as the Poſture of Affairs and Situation of the Enemy gave them Occaſion to fall upon and oppreſs her firſt, and her an Opportunity of ſhewing others an illuſtrious Example of forſaking all for Chriſt: Yet in this glorious Race ſhe was followed with great Alacrity by her Siſter

Oxford,

Oxford, who if ſhe had been called to it, would no doubt have been as ready to have led the Way. It is well known, that both Univerſities eſpouſed the Cauſe of God and the King with the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives.

After this Vindication of the Royal Cauſe againſt the impious Pretences of the Rebellion had been drawn up at *Cambridge*, thoſe excellent Perſons who were the Authors of it, now divide their Endeavours for the Service of their Country. Moſt of them, with ſeveral others of the Univerſity, Men of great Learning and Piety, being turned out of their Colleges, repair'd to the Royal Camp, to do their diſtreſſed Prince what Service they could: But Mr. *Barwick* [b] went to *London*, the chief Gariſon of the Enemy, and long conceal'd himſelf in that great City, as in a great Wood, ſagacious and quick-ſighted as the Rebels were to ſpy into all Places, according to the Cuſtom of

[b] This was probably towards the end of the Year 1643. for amongſt the *Gratiæ conceſſæ* of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Feb.* 29, 1643. there is a Grant of their Letters Teſtimonial to him under their publick Seal which ſeem to have been taken out to ſecure his Character, and recommend him to the World. This was the Month before Ejectments began there.

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thoſe, who are meditating againſt the Government ſome dangerous Plot, and infamous beyond the Example of former Ages. In this rebellious City, where yet there lived many very honeſt Men, and hearty Favourers of the Royal Cauſe, he had the Management of the King's Affairs, and as a ſecret Spy, carried on a private Correſpondence betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, where the King's Head Quarters were; on the one Hand communicating to his Majeſty all the Deſigns and Endeavours of the Rebels, and conveying his Royal Orders and Commands on the other: For he was a Man of great Courage and Preſence of Mind, as well as of extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, little regarding the Hazard of his Life, which was in continual Danger, ſo that he could be of any Service to his afflicted Country, then almoſt ready to expire under the cruel Oppreſſion of wicked Men. That he might carry on this Negotiation with more Safety and Convenience, he gets firſt into the Family of the Right Reverend Dr. *Morton* [c] Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, then

[c] See a ſhort Account of him in his Epitaph, drawn up by his Chaplain

then reſiding in *Durham* Houſe in *London*, whoſe Chaplain he was, and who had a very great Affection for him to the Day of his Death.

Under that moſt excellent and holy Prelate, Qualities which procured him the worſe Treatment from the Rebels, Mr. *Barwick* very willingly undertook this Province; becauſe together with his holy Function he was able to manage the King's Affairs more covertly, and leſs liable to Suſpicion: Not that the Palace of this Biſhop could be ſecure from the Eyes of the Rebels Emiſſaries, who were always watching to do Miſchief to the Publick; ſeeing that the Biſhop himſelf could have no Protection againſt the Madneſs of thoſe Enthuſiaſts, neither from his great Learning, nor from his extraordinary Piety, nor from his venerable grey Hairs; but becauſe in that ſpacious Houſe he had an Opportunity of more eaſily hiding whatever Cyphers he had relating to the King's Buſineſs: And alſo being very ſtudious of Chriſtian Sim-

Chaplain Mr. *Barwick*, publiſhed in the Sequel of this Life; alſo his Funeral Sermon by the ſame Hand, with the Biſhop's Life prefix'd to it, both dedicated to King *Charles* the Second.

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plicity, he was hence always furniſhed with a true as well as a convenient Anſwer (if he ſhould be queſtioned by the Rebels, what Buſineſs he had in *London*) that he performed the Office of Chaplain to that moſt Reverend Prelate. For this was both then his firm Reſolution, and what he afterwards always religiouſly obſerved, whenever he fell into the Enemy's Hands, either to anſwer all their Queſtions with the ſtricteſt Truth, or to make them no Anſwer at all; for he did not think it conſiſtent with his Duty, if taken at any Time, to clear himſelf with fictitious and made Excuſes, or do any Thing that ſhould claſh with the Sincerity of the Goſpel, leſt Chriſtianity ſhould ſuffer by his Means. He reſolved rather with Silence to anſwer all their captious and enſnaring Queſtions, how much ſoever he might ſuffer by it, than hazard the leaſt Damage to the Publick by an Anſwer not duly weighed.

After he had taken up his Lodging in *Durham* Houſe, his next Buſineſs was, to inſinuate himſelf into the Acquaintance and Affection of thoſe, whom (as he was a Perſon of great Penetration) he knew to be in ſome Meaſure Favourers of ſuch, as ſet themſelves

themſelves up for Reformers, but had not yet wholly imbib'd all their Madneſs; or if they had, yet had not an utter Averſion to every Antidote againſt it: And they were ſuch for the moſt Part, as far ſurpaſſing the reſt of the Faction in Eſtate, or Honour, or Credit with the Party, the Rebel-Crowd were fond of owning and following as their Chiefs. Of this Number two of the moſt conſiderable were Sir *Thomas* [b] *Middleton*, a *Welch* Gentleman of great Eſtate and Intereſt in his Country, a Lieutenant General of much Renown under the Earl [c] of *Eſſex*, the General of the Rebellion,

[b] Of *Chirk* Caſtle in *Denbighſhire*.

[c] *Robert*, the third and laſt Earl of the Family of *Devereux*, (named from *Evreux*, a Town of Note in *Normandy*) of which there were diverſe Generations here in *England*, before they became Peers of this Realm, *viz.* from *Reginald*, Son of *Robert de Ebrois* (mentioned 5 *Steph.*) to Sir *John D'evereux* the ſecond Knight of the Family, who died 20 *R.* 2. and from his younger Brother *William D'evereux* of *Bodynham* in the County of *Hereford*, Eſq; to his Grandſon Sir *Walter D'evereux*, in 1 *E.* 4. advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Ferrers*, on his marrying the ſole Daughter and Heir of *William* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley* in *Staffordſhire*, and for his Fidelity to that Prince againſt King *Henry* the Sixth, and his Adherents. Taking Part afterwards with *Richard* the Third, he was ſlain with him in *Boſworth* Field. His Grandſon *Walter*, Knight of the Garter, was made Viſcount *Hereford* on the ſecond of *February* 4 *E.* 6. And his Grandſon *Walter*, (by Reaſon of his Deſcent from *Cecilie* Siſter and Heir to *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*) was

lion, and Colonel *Roger Pope*, the Son in Law [d] of *Mitton*, a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Parliament Cauſe, both Members of the

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created Earl of *Eſſex*, 4. *May*, 14 *Eliz.* being alſo Earl of *Ewe*, Earl Marſhal of *Ireland*, Viſcount *Hereford* and *Bourchier*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Bourchier*, and *Lovian*, and Knight of the Garter. By the Advice of thoſe who wanted to have him gone, being ſent to quell *O Neal*'s Inſurrection in *Ireland*,, he died there of a Flux, *September* 22, 1576. griev'd that he was no better ſupported, nor without Suſpicion of Poiſon. His Son Earl *Robert*, Queen *Elizabeth*'s great Favourite, was beheaded in the Tower, *February* 25, 1600. and left our *Robert*, who was reſtored in Blood and Honour with his two Siſters, 1 *Jac.* and retiring into the *Palatinate*, diſguſted at his firſt Wife's Behaviour towards him, was tainted there with ſome *Calviniſtical* Principles, which (notwithſtanding all King *Charles*'s Favour to him, making him his Lieutenant General againſt the *Scots*, *Anno* 1639. and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold) drew him from his Allegiance to that Prince, to accept of the Generalſhip of the Rebels in 1642. He died at *Eſſex* Houſe in *London*, 1646. not without Suſpicion of Poiſon from the Rebels, becauſe he had fallen off from them, though they made a moſt magnificent Funeral for him. Sir *William Dugd. Bar. Tom.* 2. *p.* 175, &c. *Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 1. *p.* 198, &c. *Micro-chron. Sept.* 14. and *Oct.* 1, 22. 1646.

[d] It is *Miltoni* in the Latin, which was not the Publiſher's, but the Author's Miſtake (firſt obſerved by a learned Prelate of that Country) for *Mitton* a Gentleman of an antient Family in *Shropſhire*, moſt probably that active Officer in the Parliament Service, who together with Colonel *Langhorn*, by Correſpondence with ſome Townſmen of *Shrewſbury*, and ſome of the Soldiers of the Gariſon (from whence too many were unhappily drawn out two or three Days before upon ſome Expedition) ſeiz'd upon that Town in the Night for the Parliament, and by the ſame Treachery enter'd and ſurpriz'd the Caſtle. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *p.* 593. An Account of this Action was publiſhed by Colonel *Mitton* himſelf, in his Reply to Lieutenant Colonel *Reinkin*'s Relation of the taking of *Shrewſbury*, in Juſtification of his Pretence to the Government of that Caſtle, as

ſurrendred

the Lower Houſe. Sir *Thomas Middleton* afterwards, at the Head of a Loyal Party of *Welch* Gentlemen, did great Service to his oppreſſed Country, with the Loſs of a plentiful Eſtate, and the Ruin of a very noble [e] Seat. But Colonel *Pope* was no ſooner returned to his Duty to the King, but he died of the Plague that raged at that Time, to the very great Loſs of his Country: For he was a Perſon of a generous Mind, and now at laſt began to be very well affected to the Royal Cauſe. When theſe two great Men had ſwerved from their Duty and Fidelity to the King, it was moſt probably Mr. *Barwick*, who brought them back to their Allegiance; and both having been admitted into the moſt ſecret Councils of the Rebels, he learnt many

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ſurrendred to him, and not to *Mitton*; and in that Account there is mention of Lieutenant Colonel *Pope*, moſt probably his *Son in Law* here ſpoken of by my Author. Colonel *Mitton* alſo printed a Relation of another Action of his at *Elſemere* in *Shropſhire*, *January* 12, 164*. in which he is ſaid to have been then choſen High-Sheriff for that County. See him mentioned alſo, *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 143. *Dugdale's ſhort View of the late Troubles*, ch. xviii. p. 188. (where probably the ſame Miſtake is made of *Milton* for *Mitton*) and *ch.* xxi. *p.* 211. and *ch.* xxviii. *p.* 284. See alſo Sir *Edward Walker's Brief Memoirs of his Majeſty's Army*, &c. *An.* 1645. *Hiſt. Collect.* p. 150. *Micro-chron. Aug.* 17. 1646.

[e] *Chirk* Caſtle abovementioned, plunder'd and deſtroy'd by *Lambert*, after he had defeated Sir *George Booth*.

Things from them, which it was very much for his Majeſty's Intereſt to know.

[It will not perhaps be foreign from my Purpoſe to mention here, that this worthy Gentleman Mr. *Pope*, when ſeiz'd with the Plague, and going ſoon to give an Account to God of his paſt Life, felt moſt ſevere Remorſes of Conſcience (as became a true Chriſtian touch'd with a due Senſe of his Sins) for all that he had committed againſt God, and his moſt excellent Prince, God's Vicegerent. And what very much added to the Diſquiet of his Mind, labouring under the Laſhes of a wounded Conſcience, was both that the fatal Diſtemper with which he was infected, would not allow him Time, by ſome heroick Attempt for the Service of his King and Country injured by him, to certify ſufficiently to all the World, that he heartily repented of what he had committed againſt them; and alſo that he judged himſelf unworthy to receive any Conſolation in this his Extremity from the Miniſtry of that Church, which in her Extremity he had not only deſerted baſely, but cruelly perſecuted. Weighing all theſe Things impartially with the Piety and Sincerity of a true Penitent, he own'd and adored

adored the great Juſtice of God in this Viſitation, that he was now to be taken out of the World by that kind of Diſtemper, which, as of all others it is the moſt contagious, ſo he judged it highly unreaſonable, from the Hazard of its Infection, to involve in the ſame Danger with himſelf, any of the Prieſts of the Church, whom, as many of them as had not deſerted their Duty, he had ſo often and ſo ſeverely perſecuted; and yet there was nothing he deſired more ardently, than to unburthen his wounded Conſcience to ſome good Man, to whom God had commited the Miniſtry of Reconciliation. Of ſo much Moment and Importance it was (in the Opinion of this devout Perſon) to be abſolved from his Sins according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Practice of the Church of *England*, and indeed of the whole Catholick Church: And his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* was the Perſon, into whoſe Boſom, preferably to all others, he deſired to pour out his moſt holy Complaints, if the Contagion of his peſtilent Diſeaſe would permit. But no Danger was ſo formidable to Mr. *Barwick*, that he would not willingly incur it, either to defeat the Deſigns of the Rebels, or to

reconcile their Minds to God and the King. He goes therefore with all Diligence to this excellent Perſon, now approaching his laſt Hour, and ſincerely repenting of all the Sins he had committed againſt God, the King, and his Country, as well as thoſe of a more private Nature; by the Authority he had received from Chriſt his Maſter, he abſolves the Penitent, and with Prayers pour'd out to God from a clean Heart, wings his righteous Soul for her Flight to Heaven, and furniſhes her with the holy *Viaticum* for that Journey. He knew very well, that by this generous Action he ſhould do not only a very acceptable Service to his moſt merciful God, but alſo a very grateful Office to his moſt religious Prince. Beſides which he conſidered, that it was no leſs for the Honour and Reputation of his holy Function, not to ſcruple with the utmoſt Hazard of his Life to adminiſter Help and Comfort (as when there was Occaſion he had always done) to devout Souls heavy laden with the Burthen of their Sins: And yet in the whole Courſe of his Life he never had the leaſt infectious Diſtemper, not ſo much as the Meazles or Small-Pox, Diſeaſes which very few eſcape.] Nor

Nor did Mr. *Barwick*, in Proſecution of his ſecret Endeavours to promote the King's Service, make uſe only of the Help of ſuch, as by his ſalutary Chriſtian Advice, and his illuſtrious Example of Primitive Piety he had either brought back to their Duty, when ſtrayed from it, or confirmed therein, when wavering; but he alſo procured the Aſſiſtance of thoſe, who were perhaps from the beginning, like himſelf, very heartily affected to the King, but that ſo privately and unſuſpected, as to be yet in great Favour and Authority with the Rebels. Among theſe was Mr. *Francis Creſſet*, a Gentleman of an antient Family in *Shropſhire*, and of great Credit with the Earl of [f] *Pembroke*, one of the chief of thoſe few Noblemen that had join'd in the Rebellion. This worthy Perſon's hearty Concern for the Calamity of his Country, and his Fidelity and Readineſs to ſerve the King,

[f] *Philip* ſecond Son of *Henry*, and younger Brother of *William*, ſucceſſive Earls of *Pembroke*, who had been made Lord *Herbert* of *Shurland* in the Iſle of *Sheppey* in *Kent*, and Earl of *Montgomery*, *June* 4, 1605. Knight of the Garter in *May* 1608. and upon his Brother *William*'s Death *April* 10, 1630. ſucceeded to the Honour of Earl of *Pembroke*; and dying *January* 3, 1649. left that Honour to his fourth Son of the ſame Name, who was Father to the preſent Earl. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 260. *Brit. Comp.* or *Rud. of Honour*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 82, &c.

Mr. *Barwick* had found out, and was thoroughly convinc'd of by a long Acquaintance and Familiarity with him; for his Right Reverend Patron the Biſhop of *Durham*, whoſe Chaplain he was, had long entertain'd Mr. *Creſſet* in his Family, as he did other Gentlemen of Condition, and at length (when the Eſtates of the Clergy began to decay) had diſmiſs'd him with a fair Character, and no contemptible Reward of his honeſt Service, that he might engage himſelf to a Maſter of greater Figure, namely to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and that (as the Times then were) with Hopes of a more plentiful Fortune.

Mr. *Creſſet* made it his Buſineſs, by a faithful Diſcharge of his Duty in all Things, to deſerve and obtain the Favour and Affection of this his new Lord. Nor was it difficult for a Perſon of his Probity, by his Diligence and Aſſiduity to inſinuate himſelf into the inmoſt Affections of this great Man, who was always too open and acceſſible to the Devices and Contrivances even of ſuch, as were abandoned to all Wickedneſs. Yet it is not to be imagined, that this honourable Perſon entertained any Hatred in his Breaſt, or imbitter'd Malice againſt the King,

King, to whom he had been very much [z] oblig'd; but rather for want of due Conſideration, was by a certain blind Prejudice induc'd to take Part with the Rebels, of whoſe Duty and Affection to his Majeſty (to which they ſtill pretended) after they ſhould have removed him from I know not what evil Counſellors (as at that Time they calumniouſly ſtiled all ſuch as were moſt faithful to him) he made no doubt to promiſe himſelf all the good Things imaginable. But Mr. *Creſſet* was a Perſon of too much Wiſdom and Penetration, not to ſee through thoſe wicked Men's Deſigns againſt their excellent Prince; to whom he reſolved at all Events to preſerve his Allegiance inviolable, without declining in the mean Time any Inſtance of Duty to his Lord.

It happened about this Time, that this Mr. *Creſſet*'s Father and one of his Brothers were both ſlain in the Field of Battle, bravely fighting for the King; by which, in all likelihood, his generous Mind was yet more exaſperated againſt theſe deadly Enemies of

[z] Having been Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold, as well as Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford* for a while, *Dugd. ibid.*

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his Country: But his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, with whom he conſulted daily, advis'd and perſuaded him, not to ſhew his Reſentment by openly and immediately taking Arms againſt them, to which he was inclin'd (tho' in a Man of his private Rank that would have been of no great Moment for the King's Service) much leſs, inſtead of publickly aſſerting the Cauſe of his oppreſſed Country, to entertain private Grudges, and meditate the Revenge of his Family's Blood, which the Chriſtian Religion abſolutely forbids: But to preſerve himſelf entirely for the King, yet as privately and free from all Suſpicion as poſſible, that when Occaſion ſhould offer, he might employ in ſerving the Publick the great Credit and Intereſt he had in his Patron; who gave too much Countenance and Encouragement to the Rebellion, if not by his Counſel and perſonal Aſſiſtance, yet at leaſt by his Wealth and noble Extraction: Not that either Mr. *Barwick* or Mr. *Creſſet* imagined, that it would be poſſible to draw over this great Man from the Parliament's ſide to the King's; ſince he pleaſed himſelf in being accounted of that Party, who by a moſt ſtupid Credulity had hitherto perſuaded themſelves, that all the Attempts

Attempts and Undertakings of the Faction would be extreamly for his Majeſty's Honour and Advantage: But Mr. *Barwick*, by the Aſſiſtance of his good Friend Mr. *Creſſet*, had made the Earl of *Pembroke* (without his Lordſhip's Privity at leaſt, or any Thought of what he did, if not alſo againſt his Will) more uſeful and ſerviceable to the King (if all his Majeſty's Friends had perform'd their Duty with the ſame Diligence) than he would have been, if with all his Adherents he had deſerted the Rebels, and join'd himſelf to the Royal Army. And indeed it was no very difficult Matter to employ for the Service of the King the Authority of ſo great a Man, who had ſuch an Intereſt in the Rebels (himſelf no inconſiderable Part of them) and that without his Knowledge. And this was done ſeveral Ways: For by the Aſſiſtance of this Lord, Mr. *Creſſet* obtained Paſſports from the Parliament Army, as it were Pledges of the publick Faith, for free Paſſage to and fro, by vertue of which certain *London* Pedlars, moſt faithful to the King, could freely traffick in all the Quarters of the Parliament Army. Now under the Pretext of this Commerce, Mr. *Barwick* procured a ſafe

Conveyance

Conveyance as far as to the King's Quarters, which join'd upon thoſe of the Rebels, for not a few Meſſages of great Importance, ſlid in as it were by Stealth among the Pedlars Wares, and ſometimes alſo for Money and Ammunition, furniſhed by certain Citizens in his Majeſty's Intereſt, to be conveyed thence to *Oxford* by ſome of the King's Party, who waited in thoſe Places to receive them. In the mean Time Mr. *Barwick* himſelf (lying as it were behind the Curtain) was known to very few of thoſe, of whoſe Help he made uſe, either by Sight, or ſo much as by Name; and thoſe few only Perſons of the greateſt Probity, and who knew hardly any Thing of what was doing, or indeed deſir'd to know it, but as it were through a Lattice, and inveloped in a Miſt, to the end that they might more eaſily clear themſelves, if they ſhould happen to be taken. For Mr. *Barwick* was particularly careful, that no one ſhould pry into the King's Secrets intruſted to him, with more Curioſity than was neceſſary, or any Ways convenient; for by this Means due Care was taken, that no Man was ever much expos'd on his Account, and that his Majeſty's Affairs did in

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no kind ever ſuffer by the indiſcreet Blabbing of any one: Nor was it eaſy to find out the meaning of Letters written in Cyphers, with how much malicious Zeal ſoever any one ſhould attempt it: Yet there was not wanting a certain [h] Perſon, too officious at that Time to gratify the King's Enemies, who diſcovered to them the greateſt Part of his Majeſty's Letters taken at *Naſeby* Fight, though all written in Characters.

But beſides the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Creſſet* in conveying Letters to and fro, Mr. *Barwick* alſo made uſe of the Help of certain

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[h] This Perſon is generally ſuppoſed to have been Dr. *Wallis*. *Stubbe*, in his *ſevere Enquiry into the late Oneirocrita*, charges him directly with having decypher'd (beſides others, to the Ruin of many loyal Perſons) the King's Cabinet taken at *Naſeby*, and as a Monument of his noble Performances, depoſited the Original, with the Decyphering, in the publick Library at *Oxford*. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 415. And my learned Friend Mr. *Hearne* aſſures me, that the very original Book here mentioned, written in Dr. *Wallis*'s own Hand, is now, at leaſt lately was, in that Library. And Dr. *Wallis* himſelf confeſſeth and boaſts of his Skill in that Art, in his Letter to *Mankenius*, dated *January* 1-11, 1696-7. *De Cryptographematis explicandis*, &c. publiſhed in the third Volume of his *Opera Mathematica*, p. 659. *Oxon.* 1689. *Hanc Ego rem primum aggreſſus evam jam ante annos plus quinquaginta, & quaſi ludendo in facili Ciphrâ quam duarum horarum ſpatio ſuperavi*, &c. and then gives you a *Specimen*, in a Letter from the Marqueſs of *Bethune* to Cardinal *D'Etrees* in Cypher, and after decypher'd, with more to that Purpoſe.

adventurous Women, hired for that Purpoſe by Mr. *Royſton* the Bookſeller abovementioned, to diſperſe every where, as well in the King's Army, as in the Parliament's, when Occaſion offered, his Books in Defence of the Royal Cauſe, whether printed at *London* or at *Oxford*; for between thoſe two Places one or other of theſe Women uſed frequently to travel on Foot, like Strowlers begging from Houſe to Houſe, and loitering at Places agreed upon, to take up Books (which Mr. *Royſton* had conveyed by ſtealth among other Merchandize into the Weſtern Barges on the *Thames*, and the Bargemen had put on Shore there) and ſell them to Retailers well known to them. Now it was eaſy to ſew Letters privately within the Cover of any Book, and then give the Book a ſecret Mark, to notify the Inſertion of ſuch Letters therein. But Mr. *Barwick* acted in every Thing with ſuch Care, Diligence, and Caution, that no one either of his Letters, or of thoſe that conveyed them, ever fell into the Enemy's Hands: For he was very careful to employ faithful and honeſt Meſſengers, but ſuch for the moſt part, as were in Circumſtances not much to be envied, and were conſequently

quently, through the Mediocrity or rather Meanneſs of their Condition, leſs conſpicuous and more ſafe; while others of more extraordinary Note betrayed and diſcovered themſelves by their own Splendor. Among theſe was that honourable Perſon the Lady [i] *D' Aubigney*, who undertook to con-

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[i] Widow to the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigney*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, which Lord *Aubigney* was kill'd at *Edgehill*, as his two Brothers, the Lord *John*, and the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, who were in the ſame Battel, were afterwards both ſlain in the War. This Lord *Aubigney*'s only Son was afterwards Duke of *Richmond*. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *Part* 1. *p.* 52, 53.

This Lady by a Paſs and with the Conſent of the Parliament, coming to *Oxford* to tranſact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King, upon the Death of her Husband, and returning to *London* in a few Days, was deſired by the King to convey a ſmall Parcel thither with great Care and Secrecy, under the Protection of her Paſs, but not acquainted what it was, only that it much concerned his Service. *Clarend. ibid.* p. 252. *Ludlow* ſays *ſhe made it up in the Hair of her Head. Mem. Vol.* 1. *p* 82. however it was carefully delivered according to order, and 'tis yet unknown by what Means it was diſcover'd. *Clarend. ibid.* This Lady *D' Aubigney* was long confin'd on this Occaſion, and had been put to Death, if ſhe had not made her Eſcape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, by the King's Approbation ſhe married the Lord *Newburgh*, and both of them entertain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with his Majeſty under his Confinement in the Iſle of *Wight*, and concerted Meaſures for his Eſcape in his Paſſage from thence to *London*, to have been put in execution on his Majeſty's dining at their Houſe at *Bagſhot* in his Road, but unhappily prevented. After the King's Murther ſhe and her Lord being compell'd to fly out of *England*, upon Diſcoveries which *Cromwell* daily made of the Correſpondence they had held with the King, ſhe not long after died at the *Hague*. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *Part* 1. *p.* 247, 248, 289, 290. See alſo Dr. *Perrinchief*'s Life of *Charles* the Firſt, *p.* 107.

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vey to *London* the King's [k] Commiſſion for arming the Citizens againſt the Rebels; and falling into the Hands of the latter, was the unhappy Occaſion, that two very brave Citizens, and very honeſt Men, Mr. *Thompkins* and Mr. *Challoner*, were put to [l] Death, to the unſpeakable Loſs of their Country, and the inexpreſſible Grief of their moſt gracious Prince.

What other private Agents his Majeſty had at *London* to take Care of his publick Affairs, I do not well know. He might have thoſe that were of more Note: But I muſt beg leave to ſay, he never had any one, who diſcharged that Truſt with greater Prudence than Mr. *Barwick*, or with more Fidelity, or better Succeſs. And leſt any one ſhould ſuſpect, that I ſay this with more Oſtentation than Truth, what I aſſert will more evidently appear from hence, that when his Majeſty's Intereſt afterwards declin'd, and was plainly deſperate, and his

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[k] It was the Commiſſion of Array in *Engliſh*. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *Part* 1. *p.* 251. dated from *Oxford Mar.* 16, *Anno Regni* 18 *Domini*, 1643. and publiſhed in *Vicars Parliamentary Chronicle*, p. 359, *&c.*

[l] See a particular Account of this. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *Part* 1. p. 257, *&c.*

Perſon

Perſon preſs'd with inextricable Difficulties on all Sides, he condeſcended, in Preference to ſo many others, to admit Mr. *Barwick* into a great Share of his Affection, and to the Participation of his moſt ſecret Counſels, as in the Sequel will be related more at large. For when at length, whether through want of Money and Ammunition, or by the Sloth, Cowardice, Falſhood, and Treachery of ſuch as were willing to be thought the King's Friends, or laſtly by the Diſſentions and Miſunderſtandings growing in all Parts of his Army (the uſual Effect of ill Succeſs) his Affairs were become deſperate; for fear of being ſhut up, as in a Net, within the Walls of *Oxford*, his Majeſty began to think of throwing himſelf into the Enemy's Camp, and trying the Iſſue of thoſe magnificent Promiſes of Duty, which the Parliament had ſo often made him: At this Time he gave Mr. *Barwick* in Charge, to make it his Buſineſs, that Mr. *Creſſet* might be ready to render him what Service ſhould be in his Power; for when the Management of the King's domeſtick Affairs was no longer like to be ordered according to his Majeſty's own Will, but at the Pleaſure and Diſcretion of his Enemies

and it was certain, that all his moſt faithful Servants would be baniſhed from the Service of their deareſt Maſter, his Majeſty deſired nothing more earneſtly, than that Mr. *Creſſet*, of whoſe ſecret Affection to him he had been inform'd by Mr. *Barwick*, ſhould by the Favour and Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Pembroke*, endeavour to procure from the Rebels, that himſelf might be made one of the King's new Servants. But thoſe few Members, who had aſſum'd to themſelves the Authority of the whole Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and had more than once ſolemnly ſworn, that if his Majeſty would truſt himſelf to their Fidelity, they would exalt him to a higher Pitch of Royal Dignity, than any of his Predeceſſors had ever attained to; now that of his own accord he offered himſelf to them, to come to the Houſe unarm'd, and treat Face to Face with them concerning Conditions of Peace, take upon them an Air of Haughtineſs and Diſdain, and inſolently refuſe him. Nay, by a [m] Vote of their Houſe they condemn

[m] My Lord *Clarendon* ſays nothing of this Vote, but that as ſoon as the Parliament heard, that the King was arrived at the *Scottiſh*

demn him to a cloſe Confinement in *Warwick* Caſtle, even before they have him in their Power. This barbarous Vote induced his Majeſty rather to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Scots*, at that Time encamp'd in the North of *England*, as the more favourable Enemies of the two. Yet he did not do this, till by the Mediation of the *French* [n] Ambaſſador then reſiding in their Camp, the *Scots* had ſolemnly engaged to receive him upon the moſt honourable Conditions, and entertain him as became the Dignity and Majeſty of their Prince, and to protect him againſt all Injuries and

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Scottiſh Army, they ſent a poſitive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding there, that the Perſon of the King ſhould be forthwith ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle. *Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 35. But a villanous Pamphlet publiſhed at *Edinburgh*, *Anno* 1646, under the Title of *A Reſolve of the Perſon of the King* (and referr'd to in the *Oxford Reaſons againſt the Covenant*, p. 22.) does (*p.* 6.) expreſly mention *the Engliſh Parliament's voting the King's Perſon to* Warwick *Caſtle*; yet ſeems to mean rather after, than before, his Majeſty's ſurrendring himſelf to the *Scots*. But though I have not met with any other Authority for this Particular, it is not likely my Author would have aſſerted it ſo expreſly without good Authority; and the Parliament's commanding the Commiſſioners abovementioned to ſend the King to *Warwick* Caſtle, when he was in their Power, might be in Conſequence of a Vote they had made to that Purpoſe before his Majeſty's Surrender. See *P. D'Orleans Hiſt. des Revolut. D' Angleterre. T.* 3. *Liv.* 9. *p.* 134. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 35. *Echard. Hiſt. B.* 2. *ch.* 4. *p.* 625. *Micro chron. May* 6, 1646.

[n] Monſieur *Montreuil.*

Affronts from all Malecontents whatſoever. But they ſoon moſt ſhamefully broke their Faith, though pledg'd in the ſolemneſt manner, and agreeing with the *Engliſh* Rebels for two hundred thouſand Pounds of our Money, contrary to all the Laws of Hoſpitality, delivered up the King to their Commiſſioners, the chief of whom was the Earl of *Pembroke*, ſo often mentioned above. Yet they did not dare to perpetrate this monſtrous Wickedneſs, till they had obtained from his Majeſty, that all his Forces then on Foot both in *England* and *Scotland* ſhould be disbanded, particularly that moſt noble Body of *Scots*, equally brave and loyal, who under their General the Marqueſs of [o] *Montroſe*, famous for his great Actions beyond

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[o] *James*, Marqueſs and Earl of *Montroſe*, deſcended from, and chief of that illuſtrious and antient Family of the *Grahams*, called in old *Scottiſh* Language *Graham-More*, i. e. The Great *Graham*; of whom one was Son in Law to *Fergus* the Great King of *Scotland*, and Governor of that Kingdom during the Minority of King *Eugene* the Second. 'Twas he that was ſo celebrated in the Hiſtory of that Nation, for caſting down that Trench which *Severus* had cauſed to be made for the utmoſt Limits of the *Roman* Empire, between the *Scottiſh* Frith and the River *Cluid*, by this Means cutting off the Power of the *Romans*: In Memory of which glorious Action the Remains of that Trench are to this Day called *Greme's-Dyke*. (*Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Vol. ult.* p. 908.) The Marqueſs's direct Anceſtor Sir *David Graham*

beyond the Reach of Envy, had maintained the Royal Cauſe with miraculous Succeſs. The Commiſſioners of the *Engliſh* Rebels being

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ham had a Grant of conſiderable Eſtates from *William* King of *Scotland*; and his Son (alſo Sir *David*) obtained diſtinct Charters of them all, under the Great Seal of *Alexander* the Third, in whoſe Reign the next Deſcendant Sir *Patrick* was High-Sheriff of the County of *Sterling*. His Son, Sir *David*, was a great Loyaliſt to King *Robert Bruce*, and one of the Lords, who in a Letter to Pope *John* XXI. or XXII. *Anno* 1320. aſſerted the Independency of *Scotland*, and extoll'd that King as its Deliverer. His Grandſon Sir *Patrick*, ſtiled Lord of *Dundaff*, was one of the Hoſtages for the Ranſom of King *David*, *Anno* 1351. His Son *William* Lord of *Graham* was Embaſſador to *England*, and *William*'s Grandſon, *Patrick*, was one of the Lords of the Regency, in the Minority of King *James* the Second. His Grandſon *William* was a great Favourite of King *James* the Third, and King *James* the Fourth, and by the latter was made Earl of *Montroſe*, *March* 3, 1504. His Son *William* was one of the Peers, who had the Tuition of King *James* the Fifth in his Minority. His Grandſon *John* was firſt Lord Treaſurer, then Privy Counſellor, then Chancellor, and afterwards Vice-Roy of *Scotland* during Life. He dying *Anno* 1608, was ſucceeded by Earl *John*, Preſident of the Council to *Charles* the Firſt King of *England*, and Father to this great Aſſertor of the Rights of his King and Country, *James* made Marqueſs of *Montroſe*, *May* 6, 1644. In the beginning of the Troubles he had been of the Covenanters Party, and was the firſt who marched his Men over the *Tweed* in the firſt *Scotch* Invaſion; but finding his Countrymen deſigned the Ruin of the King and Monarchy, he left his Party, went to the King at *Oxford*, and diſcovered to him the Counſel of the Covenanters, particularly their Intentions to invade *England* again; which, through the Prevalence of *Hamilton*'s Faction at Court the King would not believe, till in 1643 he heard the *Scots* were marched over *Tweed*; and then he ſent the Duke of *Hamilton* Priſoner to *Pendennis* Caſtle, and diſpatched *Montroſe* as chief Governor into *Scotland*, where he obtained many ſignal Victories over the Rebels, made the Confederate Lords quit the Kingdom, brought back the

being now in Poſſeſſion of the King, put new Servants about him, ſordid and mean enough; but among them Mr. *Creſſet* obtained the Favour not only of ſerving his Majeſty in an inferior Station, but of preſiding over almoſt all his domeſtick Affairs, and having the chief Care of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Table; by which Means his Majeſty was the more ſecure againſt all Danger of Poiſon; if the Rebels had thought

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Cities and Provinces to their Duty, and had maintained theſe Advantages, if the Horſe which his Majeſty detach'd under the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had join'd him; but they being diſpers'd in *England*, betray'd by the Earls of *Traquaire* and *Roſburg*, he was ſurpriz'd and defeated at *Selkirk* by *David Leſly*; and yet had recover'd this Loſs, but that the King having ſurrendred himſelf to the *Scotch* Army, commanded him to disband, whereupon he left the Kingdom; but returning in 1649 by the Command of King *Charles* the Second from the *Hague*, where he had been made Knight of the Garter, and being diſappointed of the Forces he hoped to raiſe, he was overpower'd and defeated by *Leſly* and *Straughan*; and being afterwards betray'd by the Laird of *Aſton* for a thouſand Pound, was taken and carried Priſoner to *Edenburgh*, and there murdered, *March* 21, *Anno* 1650, with all the Circumſtances of Malice and Ignominy, behaving himſelf with the utmoſt Bravery and Fortitude both at his Trial and Execution. His Grandſon *James* was made Marqueſs of *Graham* and Duke of *Montroſe* by Queen *Anne*, *April* 24, 1707, and is now living. See the *Britiſh Compend*, or *Rudiments of Honour*, *Part* 2. *p.* 40, &c. *Commentar. de Rebellione Anglic. Author. R. M. Eq. Aur. Lib.* 2. *p.* 176, *ad* 183. *Bates's Elenchus motuum nuper. in Angl. Part* 2. *p.* 208. *ad* 211. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 351, &c. *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 336, &c. See alſo the *Compleat Hiſtory of the Wars of* Scotland, *under the Conduct of the illuſtrious and truly valiant* James *Marqueſs of* Montroſe, &c. written by Dr. *George Wiſhart* afterwards Biſhop of

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of making any ſuch Attempt upon his Life. And as by the Aſſiſtance of this faithful Servant he would be the better appriz'd of all the Plots of his Enemies againſt him; ſo was he alſo of all the Purpoſes and Endeavours of his Friends for his Service.

His Majeſty (the moſt gracious Prince, and if his Rebel Subjects would have permitted, alſo the moſt glorious) too rich a Spoil alas! for his Enemies, being now encompaſs'd with another Set of Servants, made up of new Men, and indeed moſtly of Perſons (a very few excepted) of no Family, is brought from the *Scotch* Camp to *Holdenby* [m] Caſtle, and there thrown into cloſe Confinement;

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[m] In *Northamptonſhire*, commonly called *Holmby*, a very ſtately Houſe, built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, as the laſt and greateſt Monument of his Youth, as he expreſs'd; and in King *James* the Firſt's Reign purchaſed by Queen *Anne*, for her ſecond Son the Duke of *York*, who by the Death of Prince *Henry*, became Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards to the next Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Charles* the Firſt (Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s Memoirs, *p.* 9, 10.) ſince given to the late Earl of *Feverſham*, I ſuppoſe by that Duke his great Friend and fellow Soldier in *France*, and this probably on his firſt Promotion to the Dignity of a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Duras* of *Holdenby*, *January* 19, 24 *Car.* 2. (*Dugd. Bar. Tom.* 2. *p.* 485.) Here the King was kept Priſoner from *February* 17, 1646, to *June* 4, 1647, during which Confinement he compoſed thoſe moſt divine Meditations and Soliloquies that are in his Book. (Dr. *Perinchief*'s *Life of Charles the Firſt*, p. 62.) Hence he was carried

Confinement; not to *Warwick* Caſtle (to which they had formerly thought fit to condemn him by their unanimous Vote) but here, in the Sight of *Naſeby* Field, to mortify [n] him with the bitter Remembrance of the Overthrow he had lately ſuffered [o] there, and to triumph with more Inſolence over their captive King. And now, as his Majeſty had too truly propheſied, they take care to baniſh out of his Sight all Perſons whatſoever, that according to their Duty had ſerved him hitherto, whether in military, civil, or domeſtick Employments, and thoſe whether ſacred or ſecular; indeed all ſuch in general, as they ſuſpected in the leaſt to favour his Intereſt: They in the mean Time, who to the Regret of all good Men thruſt themſelves into the Places of others, being more like Jaylors to him, than Servants.

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ried away by Cornet *Joyce* (as will be mentioned preſently) firſt to *Childerley*, and thence to *Newmarket*. About two Years after the King left *Holdenby*, that beautiful and famous Structure was, amongſt other his Majeſty's Royal Houſes, pull'd down by order of Parliament, to ſatisfy the Soldiers Arrears. Sir (*Thomas Herbert's Mem.* p. 23, 24, 32.)

[n] See Dr. *Perrinchief's Life of Charles the Firſt*, p. 61.

[o] *Viz.* On the 14th of *June* 1645.

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In this his Majeſty's Solitude I cannot ſay, whether any Letters or other Meſſage whatſoever could at any Time paſs between him and his deareſt Conſort the Queen, or any of the Royal Progeny, much leſs any of his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects, but through Mr. *Barwick*'s and Mr. *Creſſet*'s Hands; ſo extreamly difficult it was to eſcape the watchful Eyes of his moſt vigilant Keepers: Nor had even they been able to convey any, but that it was thought almoſt a Crime to entertain the leaſt Suſpicion of Mr. *Creſſet*, who was known to be ſo much in Favour with the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Perſon for whom they had the greateſt Regard.

And now at laſt almoſt all the *Britiſh* Nation (the moſt conſiderable Part of which had always been of the King's ſide) openly charge their Repreſentatives (of whom they had formerly conceiv'd ſuch mighty Hopes) with downright Perjury, and treacherouſly impoſing on their Country, under the ſpecious Mask of Piety. They ſee plainly that their Pretence of reforming Religion, with which they made ſo much Noiſe, was only an Artifice to enrich themſelves. And now they begin to repent, alas! too late, of having dethron'd

dethron'd their moſt gracious Sovereign, and reduced the Glory of his Majeſty to the mean Condition of a Captive. But what yet more afflicted them was, to ſee this unheard of Wickedneſs committed by the very Dregs of their Senators, who had uſurped to themſelves the Name of Parliament (*ſacred* as it was then commonly eſteemed) after the tumultuous Populace at their Inſtance had expell'd the far greater Part of both Houſes, and hardly left the Shadow of the upper Houſe remaining. This publick and general Hatred of the pretended Parliament came very opportunely for the Soldiers, who had hitherto fought under their Banner, and been the Miniſters of all their Wickedneſs, but were now contriving how to ſhake off their Yoak, and fight hereafter for themſelves. They thought it very hard, that when the King had been ſubdued by their Valour alone, and at the Expence of their Blood, a few Members of the Houſe ſhould enrich only themſelves with the Spoils of their Victory, living luxuriouſly and at their Eaſe, and always free from the Dangers of War, while they of the Soldiery in the mean Time (no more born to be Slaves, than they who ſat aloft

in Parliament and fared ſumptuouſly) were after ſo many Victories obtained, not without Blood, often forced to pinch their Bellies for want of their Pay. Nor did they refrain from openly complaining (as all the reſt of the People did) of the cruel Tyranny of the Parliament, both over their fellow Subjects, and the King himſelf. They alledge, that they do not underſtand, what Right the Parliament have againſt the King, which they themſelves, the ſtrenuous Defenders of their fellow Subjects Liberty, have not againſt the Parliament, in caſe the Members ſhall not reduce themſelves into Order. In the mean Time *Cromwell*, together with the reſt of the General Officers (as he was moſt perfectly skill'd in the Art of diſſembling) pretended to pay a wonderful Regard to the Parliament, and not to make any Doubt, but that at the leaſt Beck of theirs the common Soldiers would immediately lay down their Arms; yet at the ſame Time he was thought to have privately and underhand procured one *Cornet Joyce*, a malapert Fellow of mean Condition (ſome ſay he was a Taylor) whom he knew ready enough to execute his Orders,

ders, to be ſet over a Body of fifteen [p] hundred Horſe. Strengthened with theſe Forces this new Horſe-Officer ſurprizes *Holdenby* Caſtle, and carries the King to the Army's Head Quarters, having privately heard, that his Majeſty was to have been ſuddenly ſent [q] to *London:* And being asked by what Authority he dar'd attempt a Matter of that Importance, without the Parliament's Order, he anſwered, that he did this of his own accord, to procure Liberty for his fellow Subjects, and alſo for the

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[p] This looks like a Miſtake; for it can hardly be imagined, either that ſuch an inferior Officer ſhould have the Command of a Party of fifteen hundred Horſe, or that with ſuch a Number the Deſign could have been conducted with ſo much Secrecy. My Lord *Clarendon* calls it a Squadron of fifty Horſe, *Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 47. yet *Heath* makes them a thouſand Men. *Chronicle* p. 129. *Sanderſon* in his Life and Reign of King *Charles*, p. 986. mentioning the King's own Account of this Matter, ſent to the Parliament by the Earl of *Dunferling*, ſays his Majeſty *ſends them Word*, he *was unwillingly taken away by a Part of the Army, five hundred Troopers*, &c. which, as it is between the two Extremes, ſo is probably the true Account, and is printed in *Italick* Characters, as if it were the very Words of the Expreſs.

[q] Dr. *Perrinchief* ſays, that the Presbyterians had it in Conſultation, to order Colonel *Greves*, who had the Command of the Guard about the King at *Holmby*, to remove his Majeſty to *London*; the Intelligence of which coming to the Army by the Treachery of a certain Lord, they immediately ſend a Body of Horſe to prevent them, and to force him into their own Quarters. *Life* of *Charles* the Firſt, *p.* 63.

King

King himſelf, who ſuffered too ſevere a Bondage there. While his Majeſty enjoyed his Freedom in the Camp, and his Servants and Friends were allowed the Liberty of coming to him, of his Goodneſs he vouchſafed among others to have Mr. *Barwick* with him, and deliver him his Orders by Word of Mouth, whom hitherto he hardly knew more than by his Letters; for he had had ſufficient Proof of his Fidelity, Courage, Secrecy, and Prudence, and of his Duty and Affection to his diſtreſſed Prince, and oppreſſed Country: Nor did his Majeſty make the leaſt Doubt of truſting him with any of his moſt important Secrets. Mr. *Barwick* willingly embraced this Opportunity of making frequent Journeys to and fro, to carry the King's Commands to ſuch as were deſirous of the publick Peace, both in the Parliament, and in the City of *London*, and convey back to his Majeſty what Advice they thought proper in ſo uncertain a Conjuncture of Affairs.

For the Mock-Parliament, moſt of them ill bred Men, puffed up with the perpetual Succeſs of Victories obtained by the Blood of others, and intoxicated with Zeal for their new Superſtition, having rejected that

Offer the King made them of his own accord, to come and treat Face to Face with them at *London* upon Conditions of Peace, at laſt, though too late, repented of that inſolent Uſage; when they ſaw plainly, that their own Mercenaries were going to give Laws ſevere and imperious enough, not only to the King, but to them their Maſters: Not that the moſt of them had much Concern either for his Majeſty or their Country; but that they could no longer proſecute their own private Intereſts; for the Army's Propoſals for eſtabliſhing Peace, (had they really meant what they offered) ſeemed both to the King and to all the People, more favourable and advantageous, than what the Parliament inſiſted on. They propoſed the abſolute Reſtoration of his Majeſty and all the Royal Family upon more reaſonable Terms, and that a Day ſhould be ſet for putting an end to the Parliament then ſitting; a Propoſal embraced by the whole *Britiſh* Nation, as the moſt acceptable Thing in the World to them, and indeed as if it had been a Meſſage ſent them from Heaven.

During theſe Diſſentions between the Parliament and the Army, the King (as has been

been ſaid) ſent Mr. *Barwick* to *London*, to ſolicite his Friends to promote the Concluſion of the Peace upon the moſt favourable Terms they could; and this was heartily endeavoured, but in vain, by ſome Perſons of great Authority both in the City, and in the Parliament. Among theſe was Mr. *Richard Brown* a Citizen of principal Note, and no leſs famous for his martial Valour: He was Member of Parliament for *London*, and had formerly been a ſtrenuous Advocate for Presbytery; but having been appointed one of the Commiſſioners, whom the Parliament deputed to go and receive the King from the *Scotch* Army; and having obſerved there, that in all the Conferences his Majeſty had with the moſt exquiſite whether Politicians or Divines of the Parliament ſide, He was not only equal but ſuperior to them, he returned entirely to his Faith and Allegiance to the King, and ever after perſever'd therein, declining no Danger for his Majeſty's Service: At laſt after the happy Reſtoration he was moſt deſervedly honoured with the Title of a Baronet, and the chief Command of all the City *Militia*.

And

And now both Parties make Preparations for War, [q] on one ſide the Veteran Soldiers againſt the Parliament their Maſters, on the other the Parliament with ſome new rais'd Forces of the Citizens, againſt their own hired Soldiers: And each Party pretends a very honourable Cauſe of War, the one to take Arms for the King and Parliament, the other for the King and People. His Majeſty in the mean Time commanded Mr. *Barwick* to put himſelf into a Lay Habit (a Practice at that Time too much uſed by thoſe in Orders) and with a Sword by his Side to join that Expedition, which *Cromwell*'s Party were making towards *London*, with a Pretence of fighting under their Banners, who declared ſo magnificently for the Liberty of the King and People; but in reality, that from a careful Obſervation of their Behaviour and Acclamations, he might inform himſelf, how both the common Soldiers and their Officers ſtood affected towards the King and their Country, and give an Account thereof to his Majeſty: Nor could there be the leaſt Doubt,

[q] See Dr. *Perrinchief*'s Life of *Charles* the Firſt, *p.* 65.

either

either to Mr. *Barwick* or any one elſe that accompanied this Expedition, but that almoſt all the common Soldiers would moſt readily have returned to their Duty, if their Leaders had not moſt ſhamefully broke the Promiſes they had with ſo much Shew and Oſtentation of Fidelity made the King, and impoſed upon their Ignorance and Simplicity, and Readineſs to obey them in every Thing, by an Inſtance of Fraud and Treachery infamous beyond the Example of all Ages: For when now at length without Difficulty they had made themſelves Maſters of the City and Parliament, as well as of the King (for the Citizens readily opened their Gates to theſe victorious Legions, who came, as they pretended, to reſtore the King to his Throne, and Peace to their Country) and when after ſo many glorious Promiſes moſt ſolemnly made by their Leaders, the whole *Britiſh* Nation thought it a Crime to make any Doubt, but that the Parliament would immediately be diſſolv'd, and his Majeſty and all the Royal Family without the leaſt Delay reſtor'd: Behold immediately they take effectual Care to ſee turned out of Place, and thrown into Priſon, all ſuch as, either in the City or in

the Parliament, they ſuſpected to have any Regard left for the King or the antient Conſtitution. And not long after this the Parliament now turned into a kind of Court-Marſhal, agree upon this publick Vote [p], "That no more Addreſſes be made from "the Parliament to the King, nor any "Letters or Meſſage received from him; "and that it ſhould be Treaſon for any "Perſon whatſoever, to deliver any Meſ- "ſage to the King, or receive any Letter "or Meſſage from him, without Leave "from both Houſes of Parliament." But it was not thought proper to attempt this barbarous Vote, till *Cromwell* had by his holy Cheats ſeduced the good King into the Iſle of *Wight*, and confined him in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, a Fort of great Strength, under the Pretence however of guarding his Majeſty more ſafely, leſt he ſhould ſuffer any Thing from the wicked Conſpiracies of Aſſaſſins then ſwarming in the Army, who had laid wait for his Life: [Whom yet there is no Doubt, but [q] *Cromwell* himſelf had privately

[p] See *Dugd. Short View, ad An.* 1647. p. 275.

[q] Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who accompanied the King in his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*, and to the Iſle of *Wight*, gives this Account

vately hired to commit that heinous Wickedneſs, being reſolved to take away the Life of one of the beſt Princes in the World by

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count of the Reaſons that induced his Majeſty to take that Reſolution (in his *Letter to a Friend concerning his Deportment towards the King*, &c. printed in 1648, *p.* 2, 3.) *that ſome few Weeks before his Majeſty's Remove from* Hampton-Court, *there was ſcarce a Day in which ſeveral Alarms were not brought to his Majeſty, by and from very conſiderable Perſons (both well affected to him, and likely to know much of what was then in Agitation) of the Reſolution which a violent Party in the Army had to take away his Life; and that ſuch a Deſign there was, there were ſtrong Inducements to perſuade; and I hope Charity will be afforded to thoſe many who were, and ſtill are of that Belief, ſince I confeſs my ſelf to be of that Number; which Practice ſeem'd to his Majeſty the more probable, for that many other Particulars which were ſaid in thoſe Informations to precede that Action, fell out accordingly; whereupon his Majeſty thought it not Wiſdom longer to deſpiſe the poſſible Means left him for the Prevention of that Danger, and therefore reſolved to retire himſelf from thence.* And in the *Letters* his Majeſty left behind him, he *declared, the Reaſon of his Remove to be an Apprehenſion, that ſome deſperate Perſons had a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him.* (Clarend. Hiſt. Vol. 3. Book x. p. 77.) Thoſe deſperate Perſons (we are told in *a ſhort View of the Life and Reign of King* Charles, *&c.*) were *the Agitators, who for a Time much governed the lower Part of the Army* (p. 137.) and *were known* (ſays my Lord *Clarendon*) *to be* Cromwell's *own Creatures, and ſuch who neither did, nor would do any Thing, but by his Direction.* (Hiſt. Vol. 3. Book x. p. 46.) Accordingly we are aſſured by Sir *William Dugdale*, that *Cromwell ſpurr'd them on to the greateſt Fierceneſs that might be, yet whiſpered to the King ſuch a Fear of their Unrulineſs, as that his Majeſty ſtood in no little Danger to be clandeſtinely murthered by the Hand of ſome hot-ſpirited Enthuſiaſt.* (Short View of the late Troubles, ch. 26. p. 260, 261.) Such was that bloody Aſſaſſin Captain *Rolfe* (as Sir *William* writes his Name) *employed by theſe new Saints (as himſelf did confeſs) to remove his Majeſty out of the Way, by Poiſon or any other Means.* (Dugd. Short View, ch. 28. p. 285.) in purſuance, moſt probably, of *a Deſign between the Parliament and Army to ſeize the King's Perſon*; the Account of

by the Sword, or the Poiſon of ſecret Aſſaſſins; but that to avoid the Envy of private Murther, he choſe rather to abuſe the ſacred

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which, with other Informations to the ſame Purpoſe, made him endeavour an Eſcape, as Mr. *Wagſtaffe* tells us in the *Appendix* to his *Vindication* of that bleſſed Martyr, *p.* 158. where the Letter is printed which gave that Account, that Part of it decypher'd by the King himſelf in his own Hand. The Letter ſays, *There is a notable Deſign, to which are agreed the Army and Parliament, and by concurring Counſels, to which end an Expreſs is ſent to* Cromwell *to diſpoſe of his Majeſty*, and thereupon adviſes his ſudden Eſcape: and the King was ſo ſenſible of the Danger, that in one of his own Letters written to haſten his Eſcape (moſt probably on Occaſion of that Advice, for that Letter is immediately ſubjoin'd to the other) He ſays, *By what I have heard ſince I ſaw you, I find that few Days will make that impoſſible, which now is feaſible.* And in another, *I pray you, believe me, that I am loſt, if I do not eſcape.* (ibid. p. 160, 161.) Dr. *Perrinchief* tells us, that ſome that had before contrived his Majeſty's Death, and to murder him while he was in the *Scotch* Camp (ſo at once to ſatisfy their own Revenge, and load their Enemies with the Infamy of the Murder) yet could not then perform it; were now, that they had brought him to *Hampton-Court*, fierce for a ſpeedy and ſecret Aſſaſſination by Piſtol or Poiſon. (*Life of King* Charles *the Firſt*, p. 66. *See alſo* p. 67.) There is no Doubt therefore of that impious Deſign; and who more likely to be at the Bottom of it, than that infamous Villain *Cromwell* and his Party, who (when afterwards the ſame *Rolph* was accuſed in both Houſes of ſuch a Conſpiracy againſt the King's Life) as they ſlighted the Information in their Houſe, and when forced by the Lords to have the Miſcreant try'd, made the Judge, Serjeant *Wild*, a Creature of theirs, influence the Jury to bring him off by an *Ignoramus*. (*Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B. xi. p.* 233, 234.) ſo when now, after repeated Promiſes of reſtoring the King, made particularly by *Cromwell* and *Ireton* (who ſeverally profeſſed their Readineſs to hazard their Lives for that Purpoſe, the former, if but ten, the latter, even if but five would join with him; *Dugd. Short View, ch.* 27. *p.* 262, 263. Major *Huntington's Memoirs, p.* 155.) when after theſe magnificent Promiſes and Profeſſions,

ſacred Name of publick Juſtice, as he afterwards did, accumulating upon one another the moſt enormous Wickedneſſes he could invent, whoſe Head had been always obſerved to be too fruitful of that kind of Inventions.]

After this tumultuary Vote for abjuring the King, and never conſulting him more, made by a Handful of worthleſs Fellows, uſurping againſt all Right and Juſtice the Houſe of Parliament to themſelves, and foully defiling the Reverence of the Place, they bind his Majeſty in harder Chains, and place watchful Guards at every Paſſage into his Chamber, and even at the very Windows, that no Stranger ſhould have the leaſt Diſcourſe with him, or privately convey to him any Scrip of a Letter that Way; for they knew very well, that there would not be wanting ſuch, as would have more Zeal

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Profeſſions, they and their execrable Faction were juſt going to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their anointed Sovereign, and *Cromwell* had a Blank ſent him, ſign'd by the King and Prince, and confirm'd by the *States* of *Holland*, to fill up with his own Conditions, if he would ſave his Majeſty's Life, that Arch-Rebel had the Impudence to ſend this Anſwer back, that *the Council of Officers had been* SEEKING GOD, *as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that the King muſt die.* (Echard's Hiſt. Book 2. ch. v. p. 658.)

and Affection for their deareſt Prince, now he was treated with ſo much Indignity; and would little value the Penalty threatened by that new Vote, if by any Means they could aſſiſt or relieve him; yet they did not at all doubt, but all his Majeſty's Domeſticks at leaſt, and thoſe of his Bedchamber, who were very few, and they for the moſt part Men of no Note, and choſen by themſelves, bore him ſufficient Enmity and Hatred. But there was one among them, Mr. *Creſſet*, more than once abovementioned, by whoſe Aſſiſtance his Majeſty ſecurely depoſited a Cypher with Mr. *Barwick* at *London*, and through whoſe Hands every Week he ſent him his Royal Commands about the arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, all written with his own Hand in ſecret Characters, to be interpreted only by that Cypher, and as often received back his Anſwers, to be explained alſo thereby; of which Cypher the King himſelf kept a Copy by him, hid in a Crack of the Wall. Nor did only Mr. *Creſſet* yield his Majeſty his Aſſiſtance under this Confinement; for there was not one of that Shadow of a Family, if he had the leaſt Drop of generous Blood in his Veins, how inveterate an Enemy

ſoever

ſoever in the Field he had formerly been againſt his Majeſty, but who now repented, though too late, and returned to his Duty; heartily, though tacitly lamenting the great Indignities offered to this moſt excellent Prince. Particularly there were three Perſons of more generous Diſpoſitions, Mr. *Barrow*, Mr. [r] *Titus*, and Mr. [s] *Firebrace*, all three

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[r] In the Key to the King's Letters concerning this Matter, he is called Captain *Titus*, moſt probably the ſame *Silas Titus*, who (Mr. *Wood* ſays) *was a Captain under the Parliament*; — *after, when Independency prevailed, adhered to the King.* —— In 1647, *taken into Favour by* Oliver Cromwell, *to perſuade the King, then in the Iſle of* Wight, *to conſent to the four dethronizing Votes*, &c. (Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 1036. Edit. 2.) Inſtead of that, he ſeems rather to have choſen to endeavour the Reſcue of his Majeſty out of the Hands of the Rebels; and afterwards when *Cromwell* uſurp'd the Sovereignty, is commonly thought to have written a little Tract intitled, *Killing no Murder*, to prove it lawful to kill a Tyrant, as a common Enemy to his Country, a Piece which added greatly to the Fears and Suſpicions that perpetually haunted that Uſurper, and which ſome think haſtened his Death: I ſuppoſe it was after the Reſtoration that he was made a Colonel. He was a Perſon of great Figure in many of the Parliaments after that Time, and in that of 1680, movec for bringing in the Bill of Excluſion. (*Echard's Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *Book* 3. *ch.* 2. *p.* 730. and *Vol.* 3. *Book* 2. *ch.* 3. *p.* 992.) yet he was afterwards ſworn of the Privy-Council, *July* 6, 1688, to that very Prince whom he would have excluded. See the *Gazette* of that Date.

[s] Mr. *Echard* calls him Mr. *Thomas Firebrace*, (*Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *B.* 2. *ch.* v. *p.* 647.) but that is a Miſtake: It was Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Henry Firebrace*, a Gentleman of a very antient Family of *Stoke Golding* in *Leiceſterſhire*, at leaſt that was afterwards his Seat.

three employed in guarding his Majeſty, who in concert with Mr. *Creſſet*, having

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How remarkably ſerviceable he was to his Majeſty in his greateſt Diſtreſs, appears both from the ſeveral Letters which paſſed between them on the Subject of his Majeſty's intended Eſcape, ll printed in the Appendix N° I. 1, 2, *&c.* and particularly from his [a]Majeſty's *giving it in Charge to Biſhop* Juxon, the very Day before he was murthered, *to recommend him to the* Prince, afterwards King *Charles* the Second, *as having been a Perſon very faithful and ſerviceable to him in his greateſt Extremities and moſt ſtrict Impriſonments, and therefore fit to be employed and intruſted by him*; which was certified under that good Biſhop's own Hand, when afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nov.* 25. 1661. as appears by a Copy of that Certificate alſo printed in the Appendix N° II. which at the Inſtance of my worthy Friends *William Hurton* of *Long Melford* in *Suffolk*, Eſq; ſince then deceas'd, and the Reverend Mr. *John Jeffery*, was moſt obligingly communicated to me, together with Copies of the Letters abovementioned, by *Charles Firebrace* of *Melford* Hall, Eſq; the worthy Grandſon of Sir *Henry*, faithfully tranſcribed by Mr. *Jeffery* from the Originals in Mr. *Firebrace*'s Hands. It was no Doubt upon this Royal Recommendation, that long before this Certificate thereof bears Date, that Loyal Gentleman attended upon King *Charles* the Second in his Exile: Upon the Reſtoration he was made Sir *Henry Firebrace*, and Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majeſty, which Poſt he enjoyed all that and the next Reign, but not complying with the Revolution, retired then from Court, and died about four Years after; leaving two Sons, the Rev. Dr. *Henry Firebrace* ſometime Fellow of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Baſil Firebrace*, Bart. now living, Father of the Right Honourable the Counteſs Dowager of *Denbigh*, and of *Charles Firebrace*, Eſq; abovementioned, who had the Honour to have King *Charles* the Second for his Godfather, and to whom I take this Opportunity of returning my humble Thanks, not only for the Communication of thoſe invaluable Letters, which he had from the Doctor his Uncle, who made him his Heir; but for that moſt obliging manner in which he was pleaſed to do it, ſending a Servant up to *London* on Purpoſe to fetch them down from among his Papers here, and have them tranſcribed for my Uſe.

provided a Veſſel, and laid Horſes in proper Places, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, though without [t] Succeſs, to procure a Means

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[t] The Account of this Attempt, and the unhappy Occaſion of its Miſcarriage, will from his Majeſty's own Letters, and that worthy Gentleman's concern'd therein (*App.* N° I. 1, 2, *&c.*) appear in ſomewhat a different Light from what we have in my L. *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and others that wrote from him. The Sum of that noble Hiſtorian's Account is this; that Captain *Rolph*, one of the Agitators, and a Creature of *Cromwell's*, having imparted to Mr. *Osborne*, the King's Gentleman Uſher, his Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Life; and in order to the Execution of it, which he deſpaired of during the King's Confinement in the Iſle of *Wight*, invited *Osborne* to aſſiſt him in contriving his Majeſty's Eſcape, and *Osborne* by the King's Approbation joining with *Rolph* to contrive it, when his Majeſty had privately ſawed the Bar of the Window in ſunder, and all Things being now ready, the Night was appointed for executing the Deſign: His Majeſty coming to the Window at Midnight, and putting himſelf out, diſcerned more Perſons to ſtand thereabout than uſed to do, and thence ſuſpecting ſome Diſcovery, ſhut the Window, and retir'd to Bed. *And this* (ſays his Lordſhip) *was all the Ground of a Diſcourſe, which then flew Abroad, as if the King had got half out of the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and ſo was compell'd to call out for Help, which was a meer Fiction.* (Hiſt. Vol. 3. p. 233.) How far that Report was a *meer Fiction* will be ſeen by and by: It is true, the King's Letters ſay nothing of his Majeſty's ſticking in the Window; but for all that it is moſt evident from thoſe Letters, that my Lord *Clarendon*'s Account of this Matter was not *all the Ground of that* Report, for in the firſt of them the King ſays expreſly, *that the Narrowneſs of the Window was the only Impediment of* his *Eſcape*; and Mr. *Echard* ſays as expreſly, *that his Majeſty endeavoured to get out of his Window by a Cord, but unfortunately ſtuck in the Window, and that it was with great Difficulty he got back again*, as *Firebrace* (ſays he) *informs us in his Memoirs.* (Hiſt. Vol. 2. Book 2. ch. v. p. 647) but then he ſays nothing of ſawing the Bar of the Window; but makes this a different Attempt from that wherein *Rolph* was concerned, and the Bar cut; and in his Account of the Miſcarriage of this latter, follows my Lord *Clarendon*, ſaying,

Means of Eſcape for the King from out of this long noiſome Confinement.

Whilſt this Plot was laying in the Iſle of *Wight* for his Majeſty's Eſcape out of Priſon,

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ſaying, *that ſome Diſcovery was made by thoſe concerned in it, ſo that if his Majeſty had proceeded, he would have been ſhot dead by one* Rolph, *a bloody Captain, got ready for that Purpoſe.* The *Memoirs* quoted by Mr. *Echard* are Sir *Henry Firebrace*'s, directed by way of a Letter to Sir *George Lane*, Knt. Secretary to the Duke of *Ormond*, ſaid in the Title (I know not by what Blunder) to be written by Mr. *Thomas Firebrace*, Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second, and to bear Date at *Whitehall*, *July* 21, 1675. though the Name ſubſcribed to the Letter be *Henry Firebrace*, and the Date *July* 24, 1675. The Running Title of the Letter indeed is partly Mr. *Thomas*, and partly Mr. *Henry Firebrace*'s Memoirs; but in the General Title of that Collection of Memoirs, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s, Major *Huntington*'s, and Colonel *Edward Coke*'s, with which this Letter was publiſhed in 8vo, 1702. this is called Mr. *Henry Firebrace*'s *Memoirs*; I ſuppoſe it ſhould be Sir *Henry*, for that Gentleman muſt have been Knighted long before the Date of this Letter. The Account he gives therein of this Matter, is, he ſays, *what his Eyes and Ears were acquainted with*, for that he then attended his Majeſty as one of the Pages of his Bed-chamber. He had the Honour it ſeems to be known to the King by ſeveral Services he had done him in the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, at *Oxford*, and other Places; and being at *Newcaſtle* when the *Scots* delivered his Majeſty to the *Engliſh*, and new Servants were put about him, by his Majeſty's Direction he applied to ſome of the Commiſſioners, and prevailed to be admitted to that Poſt; in which attending his Majeſty in his Confinement, he found Means to concert with him ſeveral Methods of Eſcape. One, he ſays, was, that his Majeſty ſhould come out of his Bed-chamber Window, which having found wide enough for his Head, his Majeſty concluded would not be too narrow for his Body, and therefore rejected his Propoſal of making it a little wider, for fear that ſhould Occaſion a Diſcovery. Mr. *Worſeley* (the late Sir *Edward*) Mr. *Richard Oſ-*

borne

ſon, the People in every County begin to repine and murmur at the hard Uſage of their deareſt Sovereign and even to raiſe Tumults.

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borne abovementioned, and Mr. *John Newland* of *Newport*, were all engaged in the Secret, and very faithful, the two former waiting on Horſeback beyond the Counterſcarp with a good Horſe, *&c.* for his Majeſty, to carry him to *Newland*'s Boat that was ready, and Mr. *Firebrace* prepared to receive him, as he was to let himſelf down by a Cord from the Window, and conduct him croſs the Court (no Centinel being in the Way) to the great Wall of the Caſtle, and thence let him down on a Stick by a long Cord. The Signal given, " his Majeſty put " himſelf forward, but then too late found himſelf miſtaken, " he ſticking faſt between his Breaſt and Shoulders, and not able to " get forward or backward, but that at the inſtant before he " endeavoured to get out, he miſtruſted, and tied a piece of " his Cord to a Bar of the Window within, by means where- " of he forced himſelf back." This is the Account of an Ear-Witneſs, one that was near enough to *hear the King groan while he ſtuck*, and when by a Light which his Majeſty on his retiring ſet in the Window, he ſaw what he had heard, that the Deſign was broken, he gave Notice thereof to thoſe without, by throwing Stones to them from the high Wall, by which he was to have let his Majeſty down, ſo that they went off, and no Diſcovery was made. This Attempt thus failing, Mr. *Firebrace* ſent for Files and *Aqua fortis* from *London*, to make the Paſſages more eaſy, and to help in other Deſigns which he propoſed: His Majeſty in the ſame Letter to him, where he mentioned the *Narrowneſs of the Window* to have been *the only Impediment of his Eſcape*; having added, that *therefore ſome Inſtrument muſt be had to remove the Bar*; the Proſecution of which Deſign is the chief Subject of the following Letters, N°. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. till in that N°. 7. his Majeſty acquaints Mr. *Firebrace*, that nothing could be done without taking away the middle Bar; and while they were concerting that and other Methods for his Eſcape, *Hammond* was directed from above to have a careful Eye on thoſe about the King, which occaſioned Mr. *Firebrace* and others to be diſmiſs'd; and in Mr. *Firebrace*'s Abſence that other Attempt was made, of which my Lord

mults. They petition from all Quarters, that that wicked and raſh Vote for diſcarding his Majeſty, obtained by Force of Arms, may be recall'd and made void; and when Multitudes of their Petitioners unarm'd had been rudely treated by ſeveral Companies of Soldiers, that kept Guard at the Doors of the Parliament Houſe, and ſome of them kill'd, in many Places they take up Arms. The *Scots* alſo under the Command of Duke [t] *Hamilton* prepare to make

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Lord *Clarendon* gives Account, and confounds it with the former, of which it ſeems he had never heard. Yet Dr. *Perrinchief* in his Life of that Prince, *p.* 72. expreſly mentions two *Attempts made for his Deliverance by thoſe Servants whom the Parliament had placed about him*, the laſt, that in which *Rolph* was concerned, who waited to kill his Majeſty as he ſhould deſcend from his Chamber. Indeed that Author ſeems to have taken the Account from theſe Memoirs of Sir *Henry Firebrace*, to which he gave ſo much Credit, as to mention ſeveral other Particulars from thence; when yet their Authority ſeems to have wanted that Support, which his worthy Grandſon has now enabled me to give them from the King's own original Letters.

[t] *James* the firſt Duke of that antient and noble Family, the firſt of Peerage in *Scotland*, eſtabliſhed with an uninterrupted Succeſſion for four hundred Years, ſummoned to Parliament in 1374, the fourth of King *Robert* the Second, created Earl of *Arran* in the County of *Bute*, *Aug.* 10, 1503, Marqueſs of *Hamilton April* 19, 1599, Earl of the County of *Lanark*, Lord *Marchinſhire* and *Polmont*, *March* 31, 1639, and Duke of *Hamilton April* 12, 1643. He had aſſiſted at the Coronation of King *Charles* the Firſt, and carried the Sword of State before the King, was Maſter of his Horſe, Gentleman of his Bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, and Privy-Counſellor of both Kingdoms;

make an Irruption into *England*, join'd with a choice Battalion of Northern Men by [u] Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, a Perſon of extraor-

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Kingdoms; had repreſented the King of *Bohemia*, as one of the Godfathers at the Baptiſm of King *Charles* the Second: He made this Irruption into *England* in *Auguſt* 1648. (Sir *Thomas Herbert* places his Entrance into *England* on the 13th of *July* that Year, *Memoirs p.* 50, 56. which he elſewhere calls the firſt Week in *July*, *ibid. p.* 53.) He was defeated by *Cromwell* and *Lambert*, and taken Priſoner the 17th of that Month (*viz. Auguſt*) and ſoon after the King's Murther was beheaded in old *Palace-Yard Weſtminſter*, being the firſt that followed his Maſter in that glorious Cauſe. His Grandſon, Father of the preſent Duke, was made Duke of *Brandon* and Baron of *Dutton* by Queen *Anne*, *September* 10, 1711, and killed in a Duel *November* 15, 1712. See *Britiſh Compend.* or *Rudiments of Honour*, *Part* 2. *p.* 16, &c. Sir *Richard Manly's Coment. de Rebell. Anglic. Lib.* 2. *p.* 200. *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 186, &c. See alſo *Burnet's Memoirs* of the Dukes of *Hamilton*.

[u] Of *Holme* in *Spaldyngmoore* in the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, a Gentleman of an antient Family in that County, Knighted by King *James* the Firſt. On King *Charles's* retiring to *York* for Safety, he repaired to him, and ſoon raiſed for his Service three Companies of Foot, and a Troop of ſeventy Horſe at his own Charge, with which he defeated a ſtrong Party of thoſe rebellious Invaders the *Scots* at *Corbridge* in *Northumberland*. Next he routed Colonel *Roſſeter*, the Great Rebel of *Lincolnſhire*, and afterwards the Lord *Fairfax*, and relieved *Pontfret* Caſtle, beſieged by a numerous Body of the Northern Rebels. On the King's ſurrendring himſelf to the *Scots*, he retir'd beyond Sea, till another Opportunity offering it ſelf of ſerving his Majeſty, he came and reduced both *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to his Obedience: Afterwards he raiſed new Forces for his Service, did great Things, and attempted greater, at laſt overpower'd by the Rebels, and taken Priſoner, he eſcaped with Difficulty, and attended King *Charles* the Second in his Exile, and was in Conſideration of his great Actions and Sufferings, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Bruges* in *Flanders* upon the fourth Day of *February*, and the tenth Year of his Majeſty's Reign (about two Years

extraordinary Renown for the great Service he did the King. Of all theſe Affairs, by what Counſels and with what Succeſs they were carried on, Mr. *Barwick* was by his own Duty and the King's Command obliged to tranſmit an Account to his Majeſty every Week, through the Hands of Mr. *Creſſet*. And here I ſhall beg Leave to ſubjoin a Letter writ me by that worthy Gentleman *Thomas Holder*, Eſq; Auditor General to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, in which the Reader may find either better Authority, or further Satisfaction concerning what was done at that Time by his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, atteſted by one that was privy to it: The Letter Word for Word is this.

" In the Year 1647, when his late Ma-
" jeſty of bleſſed Memory was received by
" the Army at *Hampton* Court, when his
" Friends and loyal Subjects had free Acceſs

Years before the happy Reſtoration) advanced to the Degree and Dignity of Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Langdale* of *Holme* in *Spaldyngmoore*, to deſcend to his Heirs Male. He died at *Holme Auguſt* 5, 1661, and was buried at *Sancton* near adjacent. Sir *William Dugd. Baron. Vol.* 2. *p.* 475, 476. He was Great Grandfather to the preſent Lord *Langdale*. *Brit. Compend.* or *Rud.* of *Honour*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 274.

" unto

" unto him; I did often wait upon him
" there, upon ſeveral Occaſions for his Ser-
" vice, and particularly in Diſcharge of a
" great Truſt committed to me by the Ho-
" nourable Lady [x] *Savile* (the Relict of
" Sir *William* [y] *Savile*) a Perſon of incom-
" parable Affection to his Majeſty, of ſin-
" gular Prudence in deſigning great Things
" for his Service, and of great Intereſt and
" Power to render them effectual, by the
" Adherence of many Perſons of Honour,
" Ability, and Loyalty unto her, and par-
" ticularly by my late Lord [z] *Langdale*'s
" going along with her in all Things for
" his Majeſty's Service, to whoſe Counſels
" I was always privy, as one intirely truſt-
" ed by them both, and to whoſe Under-
" takings I was as ſerviceable, as was in

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[x] *Anne*, Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, ſometime Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and Mother of the Great Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the laſt of that Family.

[y] Of *Thornhill* in the County of *York*, Bart. Son of Sir *George Savile* of *Thornhill*, Bart. by *Mary*, Daughter of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Father of another Sir *George*, who in Conſideration of his Father's and his own faithful Services to King *Charles* the Firſt, as well as of what he had deſerved from King *Charles* the Second, was by Letters Patents (dated 13. *Jan.* 19 *Car.* 2.) made a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Savile* of *Eland* in the County of *York*, and alſo Viſcount *Hallifax*. *Dugd. Bar. Tom.* 2. *p.* 463.

[z] See Note [u] p. 93.

" my Power to be, all along the great and " various Tranſactions and Revolutions from " his Majeſty's coming to [a] *Hampton* Court, " until the [b] Defeat of my Lord *Langdale*'s " gallant *Engliſh* Party in Conjunction with " the *Scotch* Army, that marched into " *England* in the Year [c] 1648 (in purſu- " ance of thoſe great Councils held at the " Iſle of *Wight* for his Majeſty's Settlement, " when thoſe eminent [d] Lords Commiſſi- " oners of *Scotland* waited upon his Ma- " jeſty there) and during all that Time, I kept " a cloſe Correſpondence, both with my " Lord *Langdale* here and abroad in *Scot-* " *land*, and with my excellent Lady *Savile* " and her Friends in their Deſigns at Home; " and for the better Management of my " ſaid Correſpondence, I took up my Sta- " tion in *London*, where I had an entire " Acquaintance with the late Reverend " Dean of St. *Paul*'s, Dr. *John Barwick*,

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[a] About the beginning of *September*, 1647.

[b] By *Cromwell*'s Army, *Auguſt* 17, 1648, as he tells you by and by.

[c] See Note [t] *p.* 92.

[d] The Earl of *Lowden* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earls of *Lautherdale* and *Lawrick*: This Treaty was ſign'd on the 26th of *December* 1647. See the Subſtance of it. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B.* x. *p.* 103, *&c.*

who,

" who, as he was a Perſon of great Zeal
" towards his Majeſty, ſo he was of great
" Correſpondence alſo with many Lords,
" and other eminent Perſons of the King's
" Party; and beſides that, of indefatigable
" Induſtry in the Service of his Majeſty;
" to promote which, he and I did often
" meet twice or thrice in a Week, and
" ſometimes oftner, and communicated to
" each other what we had to make Uſe of
" from Time to Time for his Majeſty's Ser-
" vice; and ſome Poſt Days, when I was
" in Danger, he was pleaſed to go him-
" ſelf, and take up my Letters and Pac-
" kets at the Poſt-Office, and bring them
" to me, and ſtay with me, until I had
" deciphered them, to give him the Con-
" tents thereof, that he might ſerve him-
" ſelf of what was fitting amongſt his Cor-
" reſpondents. And twice by his Means
" I procured Conveyance of Diſpatches
" to, and of Returns from his ſacred Ma-
" jeſty, in the Time of no Addreſs to him
" in the Iſle of *Wight*, touching ſome Dif-
" ficulties that did ariſe in ſome of his
" Majeſty's Affairs within my Correſpon-
" dences; and he told me ſince, that he
" was beholden to one Mr. *Creſſet*, for ef-

" fecting that Matter of ſo great an Un-
" dertaking and Danger. And after I had
" carried on my Correſpondences through-
" out the great Buſineſſes of that Year,
" for the moſt part ſucceſsfully, I was
" at laſt betrayed, and by Order of the
" *Juncto* at *Derby* Houſe, committed
" to cloſe Priſon; and then this worthy
" Dean, my dear Friend and Confident, ad-
" ventured himſelf, and by my Contrivance
" got to whiſper with me through the
" Chinks of a Door nailed up, and the
" Hangings before it turned by, in the
" Chamber next to mine in [e] *Petrehouſe*,
" where Major [f] *Polwheel* was Priſoner up-
" on the King's Account, by whoſe Fa-
" vour we conferred together; of which I
" made

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[e] The Lord *Petre*'s Houſe made a Priſon, *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. *Part* 1. *p.* 57.

[f] He had been Fellow of *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, ejected by the Parliament Viſitors in 1648. For that he was the ſame *Degorie Pollwhele* mentioned by Mr. *Wood* to have been created Doctor of Phyſick in that Univerſity, *Auguſt* 7, 1660, by vertue of the Chancellor's Letters, ſeems evident from the following Account of him given in thoſe Letters, *viz.* *That he the ſaid D.* Pollwhele (as his Name is there written) *had from the beginning of the late unhappy Troubles vigorouſly and faithfully ſerved his Majeſty under the Command of* Ralph *Lord* Hopton, *then of Sir* James Smith, *in the Quality of a Major of Horſe, and continued in*

" made this good Uſe, that by my Directi-
" ons the Dean found all my Cyphers, Pa-
" pers, *&c*, and burnt them; and at my
" Requeſt, he alſo expoſed himſelf to give
" Intimation to ſome worthy honeſt Gen-
" tlemen (though Strangers to him) who
" had very faithfully acted with me in ma-
" ny Things, to provide for their own Se-
" curity; which I was very deſirous that
" they might have Notice of; becauſe I
" had heard them threaten'd by thoſe, in
" whoſe Cuſtody I then was. And when
" I ſaw my ſelf thus ſhut up, and paſt
" Hopes of coming again to be farther ſer-
" viceable to his Majeſty, I asked the good
" Doctor, if he would adventure and en-
" gage himſelf to carry on my Correſpon-
" dences (not knowing then what had be-
" fallen our Friends in the North) which
" he cheerfully reſolved of, if I would bring
" him into a Confidence with thoſe Per-
" ſons I had been engaged with: upon

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in Arms until the Surrender of Pendennis *Caſtle, from whence he went to his late Majeſty of bleſſed Memory, and afterwards followed his now Majeſty for ſome Time in* Holland *and* Flanders; *and in or about the Year* 1650 *he returned into* Cornwall, *his native Country, where he betook himſelf to the Study and Practice of Phyſick*, &c. Faſti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 811.

" which I gave him a ſhort Character of
" my moſt incomparable Lady *Savile* (for
" till that Time I had never named her to
" any Perſon, but whom ſhe her ſelf had
" truſted) and by Letter recommended him
" to her; who received him with much
" Eſteem and Confidence, under the ſame
" Truſts I had been with her and others.
" And the worthy Dean going on therein
" as I had done (but with more Abilities)
" came at laſt to my Misfortune of Impri-
" ſonment, which 'tis likely might have be-
" fallen any other Perſon, that would have
" adventured to act, as he and I did, in
" ſuch Times, under ſuch Diſadvantages,
" and with ſo much Danger. And for my
" Part, I thank God, that I held out ſo
" long as I did, till the very Day (*viz.*
" the 17th of *Auguſt* 1648) on which my
" Lord *Langdale*'s Forces were worſted by
" *Cromwell*'s Army, in ſight of the *Scotch*
" Army; God in his Providence ſo order-
" ing his Defeat and my Impriſonment on
" the very ſame Day, and thereby making
" an end of our Correſpondence and En-
" deavours for his Majeſty's Service toge-
" ther. And I muſt not omit, in Grati-
" tude to the Memory of my worthy

" Friend

" Friend the good Dean, to acknowledge
" the many Comforts he afforded me du-
" ring my Impriſonment, and the many
" kind Viſits and Helps after my Eſcape, un-
" til I got out of *England.*

Tho. Holder.

It was ſeven [h] Years after the Death of my Brother *John Barwick* (when I was drawing up this ſhort Account of his Life, and for fear of impoſing either on my ſelf or the Reader, begg'd the Aſſiſtance of that excellent Perſon, who had deſerved ſo well of his King and Country, to give me what little Light he could concerning the Affairs about that Time tranſacted behind the Curtain) that he vouchſafed to ſend me this ſummary Account of them, in which he is pleaſed to ſpeak not only candidly but honourably of the Actions of others, at the ſame Time that he expreſſes himſelf with great Modeſty and Reſerve concerning his own.

After that grievous Slaughter in the North, the Royal Cauſe (whereof many

[h] *Viz.* About 1671, for Dr. *John Barwick* died *October* 22, 1664.

had conceiv'd no little Hopes, as if it had been raiſed from the Dead) was again brought to the utmoſt Streights; for the Countries every where in Arms were ſoon reduced, and their raw and unexperienced Men eaſily conquered by the Veteran Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to Victories: And ſome Gariſons poorly fortified by the King's Party with ſlight Works thrown up in Haſte, were forced to beg Quarter of *Cromwell*'s Soldiers, and to ſurrender upon hard Terms. That Part alſo of the Fleet, which had lately returned to its Allegiance, was again corrupted by the Earl of *Warwick* (who had formerly commanded it, as long as *Cromwell* thought fit) that Earl's Chaplain [1] abovementioned, once Mr. *Barwick*'s deareſt Pupil, looking on all the while, without muttering the leaſt Word againſt it; not that it is to be imagined, that he approved of ſo foul an Action; but that he was willing it ſhould be thought inconſiſtent with the Duty of a Miniſter of God's Word, to concern himſelf with what he called State Affairs. But this Conduct of

[1] Mr. *Anthony Walker*, p. 16.

his

his was a great Grief of Mind to his affectionate Tutor, who had hoped to receive better Fruits of thoſe excellent Principles he had in his Youth inſtill'd into his Mind, which was naturally diſpoſed to do no Hardſhip to any one.

The good King, when his Affairs were again deſperate, as he had before by Word of Mouth teſtified his Senſe and Approbation of Mr. *Barwick*'s Readineſs and Ability to ſerve him, now by a Letter written in his own Hand, and ſent to him by Mr. *Creſſet*, graciouſly and of his own Accord condeſcended to give a moſt ample and honourable Teſtimony of the Service he had done him in his moſt difficult and arduous Affairs; as if what he and other Perſons of great Worth had heartily though unſucceſsfully endeavoured for his Majeſty's Relief, when reduced to the greateſt Diſtreſs, this their moſt gracious Prince was willing to look upon, not only as their Duty, but as a very great Obligation to him; and would not permit, that if his Life ſhould happen to be taken away by the Malice and Violence of his Enemies, his Auguſt Family ſhould either be unappriz'd of the unſhaken Loyalty of ſuch of them as ſhould ſurvive

this Storm, or heſitate to make uſe of their Advice and Aſſiſtance towards bringing about a happy Reſtoration, if at length it ſhould pleaſe God to favour it. But after this Shipwrack, the King had one Plank left, alas! too dangerous to truſt to: For when *Cromwell* thought it adviſeable after the *Scots* were [k] put to flight, to march himſelf immediately into *Scotland*, and ſurprize that Country, the more conveniently to prevent his Enemy's new Recruits; all ſuch Members of Parliament as had been lately turned out of the Houſe, took the Opportunity of this Conjuncture to repoſſeſs themſelves of their Seats there, and with their late Wiſdom began to lend their Ears, hitherto perfectly deaf, to the Petitions for reſtoring Peace and the King, eſpecially when the City of *London*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had ſubdued him, almoſt all to a Man (except a few ordinary Fellows of neither Name nor Subſtance) had joined in the ſame Petitions, and ſet their Hands to them. This new Attempt for the King's Reſtoration, Mr. *Barwick* by his Majeſty's

[k] *Auguſt* 17, 1648. *Bates's Elench. Mot. Part* 1. p. 88, and 135.

Command

Command concerted with Sir *Thomas Middleton* of *Wales*, and Mr. *Richard Brown* Citizen of *London*, both mentioned above, and both of great Authority in the Houſe, (now the Army was ſo far off) and both for ſome Time ſince very well affected to the King's Service. Nor was it long, e'er by their Help and that of ſome other honeſt Members, both the new Vote of not addreſſing the King was repeal'd, and a Treaty with his Majeſty agreed upon, but the Place of Treaty to be the Iſle of *Wight*, where *Cromwell*'s Party might eaſily diſturb all Things at Pleaſure, as they afterwards did; not in the Parliament Houſe, nor in the Palace near it (which had been more convenient for ſuch as deſired Peace) for fear the neighbouring City of *London*, heretofore the Parliament's ſureſt Safeguard, ſhould of a ſudden become as much too favourable to the King, as they had hitherto been too zealous againſt him. What Mr. *Barwick* did more with relation to this Treaty, I never learnt; only that I remember to have heard him ſay, he had gone from *London* to the Iſle of *Wight* in one Day, and returned thence to *London* in the ſame Space of Time, without being tired: So willingly and with ſo much

much Expedition was he uſed to execute the King's Commands; with ſo good a Habit of Body for bearing Fatigue was he then endowed, though not much uſed to ride, except it were about his Majeſty's Buſineſs.

Hitherto with as much Brevity as I could, I have given a ſummary Account of what Service Mr. *Barwick* did, whether in gaining the King the Affection of his Enemies, or in diſcovering their Deſigns againſt him, or in promoting the Endeavours of his Friends on his Behalf. I ſhall now give a *Specimen* of the conſtant Pains he took, as Opportunity offered, to deliver his fellow Subjects from that moſt grievous Tyranny they groaned under: A Work, though not ſo difficult and full of Danger as thoſe others, yet no leſs acceptable to his moſt excellent Majeſty, who was more ſolicitous for his People's Safety, than for his own. The good Offices he did to Mr. *Holder*, when he was taken up for tranſgreſſing that novel Law againſt correſponding with the King, we have had an Account of above from that worthy Gentleman himſelf; to which may be added his great Humanity to that moſt upright and excellent Divine,

Divine, Mr. *William Lacy*, who (as was ſaid [l] above) was one of thoſe that joined to write againſt the *ſolemn League and Covenant*; but being afterwards taken in the War, and confined to a noiſome Priſon, where he was very barbarouſly treated, and reduced to great Want, Mr. *Barwick* relieved and ſupported him, when a certain [m] Doctor of Phyſick of no little Note, and much

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[l] Page 36.

[m] This was in all Probability Dr. *Robert Wittie*, found upon the ſame Regiſter with Mr. *Lacy*, both of them Bachelors of Arts, *Anno* 1632, and Maſters of Arts *Anno* 1636, ſo that they were both of the ſame ſtanding. He took not his Degree indeed of Doctor of Phyſick till 1647, which muſt have been after Mr. *Lacy* was taken Priſoner, but is mentioned upon the Regiſter *practiſing Phyſick* in King's College 1641, and may be ſtiled Doctor of Phyſick either on that Account, or as having actually taken that Degree long before the writing of this Life. It is not indeed ſo certain, that he was *born in the ſame Town* with Mr. *Lacy*, and *educated in the ſame School*, as that he was of the *ſame Univerſity* (for that I ſuppoſe my Author means by *in iiſdem Studiis Grammaticalibus, in iiſdem Artibus Academicis juxta cum eo educatus*) and of the ſame ſtanding: His Admiſſion might ſhew this; but though he ſeems to have been originally of *King*'s College, yet not having been upon the Foundation, and their Regiſter admitting no others, he is not to be found there: but he was bred in the ſame School with Sir *John Micklethwait*, Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, a *Yorkſhire* Man born (*Wood, Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 2. p. 885.) which School, as it was therefore likely in that County, ſo it is not improbable on that Account, that he was alſo a *Yorkſhire* Man, which might likewiſe be the Reaſon of his living moſt of his Time in that County, practiſing Phyſick eighteen Years together with Dr. *James Primroſe* at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, and after Dr. *Primroſe's*

much better able than Mr. *Barwick*, who was alſo of great Authority with the Rebels, and had always lived with Mr. *Lacy* from their Youth, in the ſtricteſt League of Intimacy and Friendſhip, having been born in the ſame Town with him, and educated in the ſame School and in the ſame Univerſity, yet moſt ſhamefully deſerted his old Friend in this his Extremity; ſo far at that Time had the Zeal of their new Superſtition diveſted of all Humanity the Minds of Men, that were neither barbarous in their Nature, nor deſtitute of the Advantages of Education.

Primroſe's Death carrying on his Practice there, and in the Neighbourhood for ſeveral Years with good Succeſs. (*Wood ibid.*) If he was born at *Beverley*, as we ſuppoſe, that might determine him to ſpend ſo much of his Time in that Neighbourhood, eſpecially to have firſt ſet up there. He himſelf mentions his being in *Yorkſhire* the three dry Years 1654, 1655, 1656. (*Pyrologia Mimica p.* 283) and he practiſed in the Capital City there *Anno* 1669, as appears from the Date of his Dedication of that Book. His great Friendſhip with Dr. *Primroſe* abovementioned, whom he ſtiles his *intimate Friend and Collegue* (*Pyrol. Mim. p.* 174.) and his *dear Friend* (ibid. p. 213.) and Dr. *Primroſe's* writing againſt Dr. *Harvey's* Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, which Dr. *Barwick* undertook to defend, makes it yet more probable, that Dr. *Barwick* meant this Friend of his Antagoniſt: though I muſt do Dr. *Wittie* the Juſtice to own, that he was not of Dr. *Primroſe*'s ſide in that Diſpute, but ſpeaks very honourably of Dr. *Harvey*'s Diſcovery, both in the Preface to his *Pyrologia Mimica*, and in the Book it ſelf (*p.* 247.) I ſhall determine nothing upon the whole, but leave the Matter to the Judgment of the Reader.

It

It would not be difficult here to mention a great many others, whom Mr. *Barwick* aſſiſted as far as he was able with his Purſe, and with his Advice, wherewith he was much more able. One, who may ſerve for all, I can by no Means paſs by, the brave Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, renown'd among the chief Aſſertors of their oppreſſed Country's Liberties; who after the Defeat of the King's Forces in the North, unhappily falling into the Hands of the Rebels, was (as a Victim ready to be ſacrificed at their execrable Altars, if he had not eſcap'd) ſoon to have been executed before the Walls of *Pomfret*, to ſtrike Terror into the Soldiers of the Gariſon; for the Rebels were beyond Meaſure exaſperated, becauſe ſome of the King's Party, who joined in Sir *Marmaduke*'s late Expedition, had by Surprize made themſelves Maſters of that ſtrong Fortreſs, their chief Gariſon in the North, and had hitherto, after the King's Affairs were ruined every where elſe, defended it bravely for his Majeſty againſt a very obſtinate Siege of the Rebels.

When this Loyal Gariſon heard, that their dear Commander Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was condemn'd to die, they left no Stone

Stone unturn'd, by a Sally, if poſſible, to ſurprize ſome Perſon of Note in the Rebels Camp, and by that Means either redeem their captive General by an Exchange, or elſe (what they thought not inconſiſtent with the right of War) revenge his Death by a like Execution. But it was hard to accompliſh ſuch a Deſign, by Reaſon of the great Number of Forces wherewith they were beſieg'd; and to have attempted it with a numerous Body of Men, had certainly been in vain: They ſend therefore by Night to *Doncaſter*, a fortified Town and the head Quarters of the Beſiegers, a ſmall Party of about thirty Horſe, who pretend to bring Letters from General *Cromwell* to *Rainsborough*, his Lieutenant General, the chief Commander in this Siege: They ruſh ſuddenly into *Rainsborough*'s Chamber, and becauſe he refuſed to ſurrender, they kill him, and having done this, make their Way through the thickeſt Guards of their Enemies, and all return to their Friends ſafe. There was no Doubt but this bold and brave Action would add new Rancor to the Rebels Malice, which had been ſo lately provoked by the Surprize of

of *Pomfret* Caſtle, and haſten Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*'s Death, if he were not relieved with all Speed; which induced the excellent Lady *Savile* to employ all her Thoughts (and no one had a better Head) to contrive the Means of his Eſcape, as ſhe had already done with good Succeſs, thoſe for ſurprizing [o] the Caſtle now mentioned, and for ſeizing[p] *Rainsborough* in his Quarters. Nor did her uſual good Fortune fail her in this other Attempt: For ſhe found out ſuch proper Hands by Preſents to mollify the Guards, and invented ſo feaſible a Way for his Eſcape, that Sir *Marmaduke* got out of Priſon with little Difficulty to himſelf, and not much Cenſure to his Keepers from the Rebels their Maſters. Thus delivered from his Confinement, he lay hid in a Hay-ſtack for ſome Weeks, in the open Air; but when the Rebels were at laſt weary of hunting after him, he goes to *London* to Mr. *Barwick*, diſguis'd in the Habit of a Clergyman, with which he was accommodated by that moſt holy Man and excellent Divine

[o] [p] See a ſhort Account of both theſe gallant Actions, in a Letter to a Friend, written by Captain *Thomas Paulden*, who had an honourable Share in them both; and reprinted for his Widow, 4to, *L.* 1719.

Mr.

Mr. *Barnabas Oley* [q] abovementioned. Under Mr. *Barwick*'s Protection he abſconded in the ſame Habit, as one that had been driven away from his Benefice by the *Iriſh* Rebels, and remained ſafe, till he found a convenient Opportunity of paſſing over the Sea.

That illuſtrious Heroine the Lady *Savile* was always ſuſpected by *Cromwell*'s Party, not only to be privy to theſe noble Atchievements, but to be the Author and Director of them all: yet they could never come to a certain Knowledge of this, though they laid their Snares on all ſides to entrap her, and made no doubt but ſhe would at length be taken therein, and their ardent Deſire of deſtroying her be accompliſhed. This gallant Lady, famous even for her warlike Actions beyond her Sex, had a little before been beſieg'd by the Rebels in *Sheffield* [r] Caſtle, which they battered on all Sides by great Guns, though ſhe was big with Child, and had ſo little Regard for her Sex, that in that Condition they refuſed a Midwife ſhe had ſent for, the Liberty of going to

[q] Page 26.
[r] In the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*.

her.

her. Yet this unheard of Barbarity was ſo far from moving her, that ſhe reſolved to periſh rather than ſurrender the Caſtle: But the Walls being every where full of Cracks with Age, and ready to fall, the Soldiers of the Gariſon began to mutiny; not ſo much concerned for their own Danger, as for the lamentable Condition of this noble Lady, ſo near the Time of her falling in Labour; for ſhe was brought to Bed the Night after the Caſtle was ſurrendred: Thus the moſt generous and magnanimous Perſons, ſuch as the Lady *Savile* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who attempted nothing mean nor unbecoming the glorious Cauſe they had eſpous'd, thought fit to concert Meaſures with Mr. *Barwick*; whoſe Endeavours to ſerve the ſame Cauſe they knew were both acceptable and uſeful to the King.

But now, at length, after all the King's Forces were ſubdued, not in *Scotland* only but in *England*, except thoſe few brave Men in *Pomfret* Caſtle; his Majeſty now entirely conquered and brought under the Yoke, was paſt all Hopes of Relief, either from the private Endeavours of his Friends, or from the publick and moſt ſolemn Engagements

of his Enemies; for from the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*, by the ſacrilegious Hands of the Rebels, he is hurried away to the Scaffold. On this ſad Occaſion Mr. *Barwick*, among others of the beſt Subjects, deſerved this peculiar Praiſe, that he would not deſpair of the Reſtoration of the Monarchy, though now utterly overthrown and trod under Foot; but reſolved to employ the ſame Endeavours, and that with the ſame Hazard of his Life, for the Cauſe now it was evidently ruined, which he had hitherto uſed in its Behalf, when it was only tottering and in Danger. But while he was doing this, he fell into a very dangerous Diſtemper, contracted (as is moſt probable) from that Exceſs of Grief, which the unſpeakable Loſs of his moſt gracious Maſter the King brought upon him: For Day and Night he was haraſſed with a continual Cough, followed by ſpitting of Blood, and afterwards by a Conſumption of his Lungs, and a waſting and pining away of his whole Body: Yet this Diſtemper could not interrupt the daily Correſpondence he maintained by Letters with the King's Miniſters now in Exile with their new Maſter King *Charles* the Second, diveſted of his three Kingdoms. And when

when a certain [a] Friend, who had always been moſt dear to him, and who ſtudied Phyſick, adviſed him to lay aſide his publick Cares for ſome Time, that he might better attend the Recovery of his Health; he gave him this Anſwer: You know, ſays he, that this Diſeaſe of mine is not of that Sort, which uſes to yield to Medicines; and yet if it were never ſo curable, that the publick Affairs of the whole Kingdom ought by all Means to be preferred before my private Intereſt; adding, that if it ſhould pleaſe God, he would not be unwilling to die in the very Exerciſe of his Duty. But this was obtained from him, that one of his two Brothers, who were both then in *London*, and both Perſons he could ſafely truſt, ſhould be permitted in his ſtead to attend the Poſt-Office on ſuch Days as Letters came in or went out, to the end that he, whoſe Intereſt it was to keep himſelf cloſe, might be leſs ſeen Abroad; and that he might have more Time for writing his Diſpatches, which were of much Importance to the King's Af-

[a] Moſt probably our Author himſelf, Dr. *Peter Barwick*, his Brother.

fairs; and alſo leſt by wearying his conſumptive Body with too much ſtirring out, he ſhould haſten his Death, which ſeemed to be but too near. One of thoſe Brothers of his was *Edward*, that Citizen of *London* mentioned above [f] to have followed the Trade of Herald-Painting; the other was only a Sojourner lately come out of the Country, who had ſtay'd ſome Months in Town, to attend upon his conſumptive Brother. It was thought moſt convenient, that he, who after ſix Months longer ſtay in *London* was to return into the Country, ſhould undertake this Buſineſs during his Stay, that his other Brother *Edward* might reſerve himſelf more entirely for it, when it ſhould come to lye wholly upon him, if their ſick Brother in the mean Time ſhould ſink under the Employment, worn out with his Diſtemper and Buſineſs. This Mr. *Edward Barwick* was a Perſon of eminent Zeal for his Country, that had with great Courage performed the Office of an Enſign in the Company of the Honourable Colonel *James Bellingeham* (who in the late Nor-

[f] Page 5.

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thern Expedition commanded a Regiment for the King under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*) and after that gallant Army of North Countrymen was routed and put to flight, taking his Colours from the Staff, he tied them round his Waſte, and brought them ſafe to his Colonel. Six Months after Mr. *Barwick* was firſt ſeiz'd with his Illneſs, the Care of his Health was wholly intruſted to his deareſt Friend Dr. *John* [t] *Wederborn* of *Scotland*, who as he was formerly Phyſician to the King, ſo was he afterwards moſt deſervedly diſtinguiſhed with the Honour of Knighthood.

But the Care of carrying on the Correſpondence by Letters, which Mr. *John Barwick* had conſtantly managed, is now wholly committed to his Brother *Edward*; who had hardly executed this Office two Months, before one *Boſtock*, a poor-ſpirited artificial Fellow, who belonged to the Poſt-Office, though engaged by frequent Preſents, and eſteemed very hearty in the King's Intereſt, yet in all likelihood corrupted with larger Preſents by thoſe in Power, treacherouſly

[t] Mr. *Wood* makes very honourable mention of him. *Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 735, 736.

delivered up both the Brothers, Mr. *John* and Mr. *Edward Barwick*, into the Hands of the Rebels, together with ſome Letters that came from the King's Miniſters abroad. The Letters were ſuperſcribed to a feigned Name, *viz.* to Mr. *James Van Delft*, *Dutch* Merchant in *London*. Mr. *John Barwick* endeavoured to clear his Brother *Edward* of thoſe Letters, and take all the Blame of them upon himſelf; yet neither of the Brothers would own himſelf much concerned in Letters directed to another Name, but would not deny them neither, only inſiſted, that it was unjuſt to oblige them to accuſe themſelves, contrary to the Laws lately made by the Rebel-Parliament, when they repealed that which was called the Oath *ex Officio*. But *Boſtock* was not afraid to make *Affidavit* in the moſt ſolemn manner, that this very Mr. *Edward Barwick* had conſtantly every Week fetched Letters from his Office directed to Mr. *James Van Delft*, and that for ſeven Months paſt; whereas he had had no Intercourſe with that Office more than ſeven Weeks. The Right Reverend Biſhop of *Durham* being reduced to great Streights, and driven out of his noble Palace by the Rebels, was obliged to

retrench

retrench his Family, and live in leſs Compaſs than heretofore, only with one or two Servants. On this Occaſion Mr. *Barwick*, his Lordſhip's Chaplain, had taken private Lodgings, which he uſed often to change, and by that Means had eſcaped the Search of the Enemy, with all their Sagacity, 'till the Holy Week of the Year 1650: Nor had he ever intermitted the Duty he owed to his exiled Sovereign and oppreſſed Country, although he had now for ſix or ſeven Months almoſt every other Week thrown up vaſt Quantities of Blood from his Lungs, labouring under the Violence of a perpetual Cough, and almoſt worn to nothing with a Conſumption; inſomuch that a little before this Impriſonment, by the Aſſiſtance of his deareſt Friend Mr. *John*[r] *Otway*, formerly

[r] Son of Mr. *Roger Otway* of *Sedberg* in *Yorkſhire*, Gentleman, admitted Penſioner of that College at the Age of ſixteen, *June* 3, 1636, and made Fellow *March* 24, 1639. (*Regr. Coll. Joh.*) ejected by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, *March* 15, 1643, *for refuſing to take the ſolemn League and Covenant, and other Miſdemeanors*, as the Warrant for his Ejection expreſſeth it, without mentioning what they were: But what our Author ſays of his heroick Loyalty a few Pages hence, ſufficiently accounts for all his Miſdemeanors, the chief of which no doubt was his taking Arms for the King, which probably he did ſoon after his Ejectment. On his Majeſty's return he was Knighted, and having ſtudied the Law became temporal Chancellor to the Biſhop of

merly Fellow of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, but then Student of *Grey's-Inn*, he had prepared himſelf a burying Place, where, according to the Rites of the Church of *England* then by the Uſurpation almoſt every where aboliſhed, he might by his Friends be decently interr'd, as he expected to be very ſoon. But he that had for above eight Years employed all his Cares for the Service of the Publick, in Affairs for the moſt part of great Difficulty, and with good Succeſs, being now at laſt detected, is hurried away to an Examination before thoſe in Power; who were not aſhamed to threaten with Torture one already more than half dead, if he would not without the leaſt Heſitation or Delay, immediately diſcover all that were his Accomplices in this Undertaking. But he, who (as they well knew) would never acknowledge for Laws, the military Reſolves

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Durham, and left a fair Eſtate to his two Sons by different Venters, the one Dr. *Charles Otway*, LL. D. many Years Fellow of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*. where he died *January* 27. 1720-1, (whom I muſt always mention with Reſpect for the great Encouragement he gave to the Latin Edition of this Life) the other *Brathwait Otway*, Eſq; ſometime Fellow-Commoner of the ſame College, and now Counſellor of *Grey's-Inn*. See Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 149.

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of theſe new Lords, made no Scruple to anſwer undauntedly, that neither he himſelf, nor any others with whom he had entertained Friendſhip, had done any Thing that he knew repugnant to the Laws of his Country; and that if any Thing ſhould poſſibly be extorted from him to the contrary by the Force of Torments, which that dry and bloodleſs Carcaſe they ſaw of his might not be able to bear, it ought by all Means to paſs for nothing: His Brother *Edward* they examine ſeparately, and deal ſomething more mercifully with him, threatning him only with Death; yet they charge them both with Contumacy, and rage vehemently againſt them, having ſuborn'd what falſe Witneſſes they could; but neither the Royal Cauſe, nor any one Perſon that maintained it, ſuffered the leaſt Prejudice or Injury thereby; for Mr. *John Barwick* (before the Meſſengers who came to apprehend them could break open his Door, which he always kept bolted) had inſtantly committed to the Flames his Cyphers, and all ſorts of Papers relating to the King's Buſineſs (not excepting thoſe very Letters abovementioned, written to him with ſo much Goodneſs by his late Majeſty) notwithſtanding that

he was ſufficiently appriz'd, how greatly this muſt exaſperate the Rebels Malice and Rage againſt him. By this Means it came to paſs, that they were not able to gather any Thing they deſired out of the hidden Senſe of thoſe Letters, which by *Boſtock*'s Treachery fell into their Hands; yet both the Brothers, the elder as found Guilty of High-Treaſon, the younger as ſuſpected of it, are by a Warrant of the ninth of *April* 1650, ſign'd by *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the New Republick, thruſt into noiſome Dungeons in the *Gate-Houſe* of *Weſtminſter*. But to conſult Brevity, as far as a Subject ſo prolix will give leave, they were both treated with ſo much Hardſhip and Indignity in their cloſe Confinement, and ſo ſtreightly ſhut up from any Relief or Aſſiſtance of their Friends, that far from adminiſtring in any kind toward their Subſiſtence, it was not poſſible for any Friend, during the Space of ſome Days, ſo much as to ask how they did, or whether they were alive, without the Mortification of ſuffering the like cloſe Impriſonment for ſome Time. But after a few Weeks Mr. *Edward Barwick*, when almoſt deſtroyed with Cold and Hunger, as being the leſs Offender of the two (in the

Opinion of thoſe who uſed them ſo cruelly) and only employed by his Brother, is let out of Priſon, upon Security given to return thither on their firſt Summons. But alas! the barbarous Treatment he had undergone brought upon him two grievous Diſtempers, the Stone and a conſumptive Cough, of which he ſoon after died, giving up his Life a glorious Sacrifice to the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom, a young Man of exemplary Piety, born for the Service of his Country: But the Rebels vent their utmoſt Fury on his Brother *John*, as guilty of the higheſt Treaſon (forſooth) againſt their upſtart Common-wealth.

He had hardly been three Days confined, but he was again brought to Examination; He that cried out loudeſt for putting him to the Torture, was Sir *Henry Mildmay*, who in Wickedneſs, Abuſiveneſs, and cruel Threatning was almoſt ſuperior to that moſt impudent Brawler *Bradſhaw* himſelf. It was that very *Mildmay*, who having been Knighted by King *Charles* the Firſt, made Maſter of his Jewel-Houſe, and diſtinguiſhed by other envied Marks of his Favour, was not yet afraid to imbrue his ſacrilegious Hands in the Blood of that his moſt gracious and munificent

munificent Maſter, by an Inſtance of Ingratitude, as well as Impiety, monſtrous beyond all Example. But when they found their Priſoner was not to be frightened with Threats, they tried more than once to allure him with Promiſes, making him diverſe magnificent Offers, if he would ingenuouſly and candidly diſcover what Plots he had been privy to againſt their Common-Wealth: But the Integrity of his Mind was in no Danger from any Attacks of this Nature: O that his Body had been as impregnable to thoſe of his Diſtemper! When therefore he was not to be wrought upon by any of their Allurements, they renewed their Threatnings with more Violence. Yet they thought it not adviſable to put him to the Torture, a Barbarity in this Age unheard of in *England*, and he reduced to a meer Shadow: they choſe rather to leave him to periſh by his Diſtemper; more ſolicitous to preſerve themſelves from the Odium of ſo barbarous a Cruelty, than touched with the leaſt Senſe of Humanity; for leſt his Illneſs ſhould not diſpatch him ſoon enough, they reſolve to haſten his Deſtruction by a moſt loathſome Confinement, but in another Priſon; for by a Warrant under *Bradſhaw*'s own

own Hand, dated the 12th of *April* 1650, they order Mr. *Francis Weſt* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, to take into his Cuſtody this dying Perſon, and before he could breath out his laſt, bury him as it were in ſome Dungeon of that Priſon, ſecluded from the Company of all Mankind, but of a ſtern moroſe Jaylor. Nor after all this did they deſiſt from their cruel Threatnings; for they gave this Reaſon for changing his Priſon, and confining him in the Tower, that he might be nearer to the Rack, kept there to torture ſuch incorrigible Rebels, as they eſteemed him: They threatned to ſend Commiſſioners ſoon after, who by that Method ſhould extort from him a Confeſſion of all the wicked Plots (they ſaid) he had been hatching: Nor indeed, as falſe and perfidious as they were in other Inſtances, did they uſe to fail the leaſt Tittle of what they threatned. But Mr. *Barwick*'s Hopes ſoar'd higher, than to be the leaſt affected with their dire Menaces: In all Difficulties he ſtill preſerved his Mind firm and undejected; and at that Time fortified his Faith and Patience with this pious Reflection, that upon the very ſame Day, according to the Computation of the Church, Chriſt had endured

dured more grievous Sufferings for him; for it was on *Good-Friday* that all this was done; and at the ſame Hour of that Day, wherein Chriſt is recorded to have been buried, he was ſhut up in this Dungeon, as I find noted by him in his Diary, *Weſt* was not only ſo obſervant of the Orders he had received, as to keep his Priſoner from the Speech of all his Friends, but was careful by Boards nailed up againſt his Window, to intercept the free Air, the only Relief to his waſted Lungs, and forbad him the uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and of all other Books but the Bible. Indeed all this had been expreſly and by Name forbidden him in a former Order given to the Keeper of the *Gate-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter:* But the Lieutenant of the *Tower* officiouſly performed this grateful Service to his Maſters, altogether beſides their written Orders; and for many Months debarred his Priſoner not only of all the Pleaſures of Life, but almoſt of what was barely neceſſary to ſupport it. Nor in the mean Time did the Rebels contribute the leaſt Farthing to keep him from ſtarving, after they had robb'd him of all his Subſtance: Nay, nor did they ſuffer any Relief, provided by his Friends for his Subſiſtence, to be

be conveyed to him, unleſs ſome one Perſon were deputed to do that good Office, and of whom the new Common-Wealth (as they call'd it) ſhould have ſufficient Security, that under this Pretext he ſhould do them no Miſchief. The Perſon who at laſt was by theſe jealous Wretches permitted to undertake this Office for his Friend, was one, who as well as Dr. *Barwick*, had not long ſince been a Servant to the Biſhop of *Durham*. Yet Mr. *Barwick* had Reaſon afterwards to complain of Wrong done him in the Payments he made, tho' he had a valuable Conſideration for performing that Service. But they never allowed this Perſon to come to their Priſoner, but when his Keeper *Weſt* was at Leiſure, or in the Humour, to be there with him, to prevent any private Diſcourſe between them. Mr. *Barwick*, who of all Men living had been leaſt uſed to indulge his Appetite, now lived more ſparingly than any Mortal, after he had contracted this Illneſs: The Diet he uſed was Herbs or Fruit, or thin Water-gruel made of Oatmeal or Barley with Currans boil'd in it, and ſweeten'd with a little Sugar; and this he uſed to cook himſelf in the Priſon, to help paſs away the Time. As he was always

ways very abſtemious, ſo he now refrained from all ſorts of made Drink, whether Wine or Beer, or any other fermented Liquor, quenching his Thirſt with nothing but Spring Water: Nor did he live thus poorly, becauſe he could not afford to fare better (which yet many imagined, and one [t] has written) but partly becauſe the State of his Health required this; partly becauſe he was unwilling either with Envy or Expence to load his Friends, that were kind enough to him; for there were not wanting thoſe, who took Care privately to relieve the Neceſſities of a Perſon, that had deſerved ſo well of his Country: And the King himſelf, of all Men the moſt compaſſionate, though depriv'd of his three Kingdoms, and living an Exile in a ſtrange Land, was ſo good to take this Matter particularly into his own Care; for out of a thouſand Pounds at that Time generouſly contributed to his Majeſty's Subſiſtence by the Lady *Savile*, the good King ordered two hundred to be immediately employed for Mr. *Barwick*'s Relief. Indeed his Majeſty had ſo great a

[t] *Lloyd, Memoirs*, p. 610.

Regard

Regard for this good Man's Fidelity, preſerved under the greateſt Difficulties, that he would willingly have purchaſed his Liberty with that of a certain impious *Aſſaſſin*, who had laid wait for his ſacred Life, as Dr. *Barwick* himſelf afterwards gratefully acknowledged in an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King, prefixt to his Life of Biſhop *Morton*. And when his Majeſty with his *Scotch* Army was encamp'd at *Worceſter*, and he that writes this, a few Days before that unhappy Fight, throwing himſelf at his Royal Feet, lightly mentioned among other Things, the Confinement of Mr. *Barwick*, moſt dear to him on many Accounts; his Majeſty with a generous Warmth of Mind vouchſafed to return this Anſwer. "I well know that faithful Servant, and "hearty honeſt Man, who for my ſake, and "that of all my loyal Subjects has been "treated with great Indignity, and ſuffer-"ed the utmoſt Hardſhips: But now, ſays "he, the Time is at Hand, when I ſhall "either with theſe Arms ſuccour him, and "the reſt of my deareſt Friends, that groan "under the cruel Yoke of this Uſurpation, "or willingly lay down this Life for them." But you will ſay, of what Importance was

it, that his moſt gracious Sovereign was ſo ſolicitous for procuring the Liberty of this Subject of his from the grievous Oppreſſion of his moſt deadly Enemies? when at the ſame Time his Life it ſelf was almoſt utterly deſpaired of, from the no leſs grievous Oppreſſion of his Diſtemper, and this even before the miſerable Eſtate to which that had reduced him, was ſadly augmented by the Severity of his Confinement: And indeed Mr. *Barwick* himſelf, of the Recovery of whoſe Health the Phyſicians had long ſince deſpair'd, thought it a Matter of little Moment, whether he drew his laſt Breath in a free or a cloſe Air. But in the midſt of this Diſtreſs he found very great Reaſon, if ever any Man did, to acknowledge and adore the wonderful Goodneſs of God, and return him, as he conſtantly did, his moſt humble and hearty Thanks, for his many and extraordinary Mercies to him; for in this cloſe Confinement, he did not only experience the great Care and Concern for him of the chief of his Friends, and even of the good King himſelf; inſomuch that beyond what his Friends were able to do for him, he wanted nothing to ſupport his drooping Life, as long as it ſhould pleaſe God

God to continue it: But what far exceeded all he could either hope or wiſh, with thoſe [a] Children of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, abominating the rich but prophane Dainties of the Tyrant's Table, and living only upon Pulſe and ſpring Water, he throve daily, and grew fatter with this ſimple Diet, to the no little Mortification of the Rebels, after he had been reduced to a meer Skeleton by the Conſumption that preyed upon his Vitals: Nor yet had he made any Change, either in the Medicines preſcrib'd him long before this Confinement, or in his way of Living; only that in this Hermit's Cell he gave himſelf up wholly to God and Religion, intirely exempt from all publick Buſineſs, with which he had daily waſted his Strength.

Mr. *John Otway*, who (as was mentioned above [b]) had taken upon him the Care of decently interring his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, when a little before his Impriſonment his Life was almoſt deſpaired of, after he heard he was ſhut up ſo cloſe, deſtitute in a manner of all the Conveniences of Life, was

[a] *Dan.* i. 12, 15. [b] Page 120.

not a little affected with this unworthy Treatment of a Perſon he loved ſo well, and had been formerly bred up with in ſo much Friendſhip in the ſame College. And indeed he left nothing unattempted, that (as became their long Intimacy and Affection) he might adminiſter ſome Relief to his dear Friend in his cloſe Confinement, and (as he thought) in Want. But there had now paſſed fifteen Months, in which it had been accounted a Crime to ſalute him ſo much as at the Priſon Doors. At laſt however, this good natured Gentleman, with a few others of *Grey's-Inn*, both his and Mr. *Barwick*'s intimate Acquaintance, went boldly to *Bradſhaw*, himſelf alſo a Bencher of that Inn, and begg'd that he and they might have leave to viſit, and relieve, as far as it was in their Power, their old Acquaintance Mr. *Barwick*, ſhut up from all his Friends, deſtitute of Help, and afflicted with Sickneſs to ſuch a Degree, that without God's peculiar Providence he muſt e'er that Time have ſunk under the Violence of his moſt grievous Diſtemper. Theſe good Gentlemen were moſt of them ſuch, to whom *Bradſhaw* either deſired to ſeem a Friend, or at leaſt

ſhewed

ſhewed no extraordinary Hatred; for after the barbarous Murther of the King, he made it his Buſineſs to ſooth and cajole as many as he could into the Intereſt of the new Common-wealth. But now breaking out into a violent Paſſion againſt Mr. *Barwick*, he moſt bitterly inveighs againſt him, not only as a Traytor to his Country, but as one that was guilty of the higheſt Contumacy, and had moſt ungratefully refuſed the Favours offered him by the Common-wealth, againſt which he had committed ſuch heinous Crimes, and which might have long ſince moſt juſtly taken away his Life, as a capital Enemy to the Government; adding, that he wondered what evil *Genius* had induced ſo many Gentlemen of that Inn, his dear Collegues of whom he had conceived much better Hopes, to deſire any Acquaintance with ſo great an Enemy and Peſt of the Common-wealth. They on the other ſide, the better to appeaſe his Anger, declare, that as to Mr. *Barwick*'s Principles of Government, if he had offended ſo heinouſly, they came not to intercede for him: But as to the reſt, that they had always looked upon him as a Perſon of great Goodneſs, Piety, and Sincerity, of

an unblameable Life, and worthy of the Kindneſs and Friendſhip of all good Men; and all that they deſired at preſent, was, that now he was in ſo much need of it, they might be permitted to renew their old Acquaintance with him, who on many Accounts was moſt dear to them, and in that his Diſtreſs might afford him any Relief, which he deſired, and they were able to give him. But *Bradſhaw* gravely admoniſhed them to be very cautious with whom they cultivated Friendſhip, and to have a Care of being impoſed upon by any ſpecious Pretence of Piety: He adviſed them particularly and above all to avoid all manner of Converſation with Mr. *Barwick*, who before the Government was well ſettled after the late Commotions, had endeavoured to undermine it, and was ſo much the more dangerous an Enemy thereto, as he attempted to overthrow it in cool Blood. For, ſays he, we are little afraid of thoſe, who in Taverns, even to Madneſs, drink King *Charles*'s Health, and wickedly devote themſelves to his Service. But, continues he, if your Friend Mr. *Barwick* would at laſt repent, and become a faithful Subject to the Common-wealth, which he has ſo many

Ways

Ways injured, I am bold to ſay, he would find it not only merciful and gentle, but gracious and liberal, and ready to heap Favours upon him. [Then again, letting looſe the Reins to his Paſſion; with what Enchantment, ſays he, has this *Barwick*, ſubtle Artificer of Miſchief as he is, bewitched ſuch a Company of *Grey*'s-*Inn* Gentlemen to eſpouſe ſo ill a Cauſe as his? They reply, that there are many Perſons in that Inn, Men of known Probity, who would readily have joined with them in this Requeſt, and were Friends to Mr. *Barwick*, probably for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they eſteemed him a candid Friend and a good Man, and were born in the ſame, or in ſome of the neighbouring Countries, or educated in the ſame Univerſity. After *Bradſhaw* had ſufficiently tired himſelf with railing in the moſt contumelious Terms againſt Mr. *Barwick*, whom he could not induce to betray either the glorious Cauſe he had eſpous'd, or thoſe worthy Perſons he knew to be engaged therein with him, neither by Threats nor Bribes] (for it was the Policy of this Arch-Rebel by turns to make uſe of both) at length growing a little cooler, he condeſcended to give leave, that one of their

Company, whomſoever they pleaſed to chooſe, ſhould have Liberty to viſit him in the Name of the reſt, and carry him what friendly Meſſage, or other charitable Relief they ſhould think fit to ſend. They agree to make Mr. *Otway* their Deputy, who obtains a Warrant under *Bradſhaw*'s Hand to authorize *Weſt* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to let him in to Mr. *Barwick*. Mr. *Otway* haſtens to *Weſt* with the Warrant, and finds him very ready to comply therewith: For, ſays he, there is nothing I deſire more, than to do Mr. *Barwick* thoſe good Offices, which I have been hitherto reſtrained from doing him by my Maſters at the Helm: Nor could any good Man, ſays he, but love and admire him, as a wonderful Example of Chriſtian Piety, if he were not ſuch an Enemy to the preſent Government. Having ſaid this, they both haſten to Mr. *Barwick*. With what Joy he and his Friend Mr. *Otway* embraced each other at this firſt ſo long deſired Meeting, is not eaſy to expreſs. What added extreamly to that of the latter, was to find his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* ſo much altered for the better, his Eyes ſo lively, his Complection ſo healthful, and his Body in ſo good Plight, that he

hardly

hardly knew him; and being almoſt aſtoniſhed at the unexpected ſight, "Is this, ſays "he, that Mr. *Barwick*, whom I ſaw at "our laſt Meeting, or am I rather impoſed "upon by ſome Apparition?" "Yes indeed, "replied Mr. *Barwick*, you might formerly "take me for a Shade, or an Apparition, "or any thing of yet leſs Subſtance, my "dear Mr. *Otway*, when you was ſo good "to take upon you the Care of ſeeing my "then waſted Body duly interr'd; but now "I am again your very Friend *Barwick*, "ſince God of his great Mercy has ſent his "Spirit into *theſe dry Bones*, and beyond "all Hope commanded them to *live* under "this ſevere Confinement." After this friendly Salutation the Lieutenant of the *Tower* left them, permitting his Priſoner Mr. *Barwick* to enjoy the Converſation of his Friend alone, without any one by; a Privilege he had never once indulged him before, during fifteen Months Confinement, but had always been too officious a Spy upon almoſt every Word that came out of his Mouth. The Lieutenant being gone, Mr. *Otway* acquainted his Friend Mr. *Barwick* with the whole Series of the Diſcourſe between *Bradſhaw*, and him, and

his *Grey's-Inn* Friends, and what dire Threatnings that execrable Regicide denounced againſt Mr. *Barwick*, becauſe he would not betray that righteous Cauſe, wherein he had engaged.

Indeed, replied Mr. *Barwick*, he tried his Skill upon me more than once, ſometimes threatning the Rack to this poor Carcaſe, conſumptive as it then was, and ſometimes promiſing I know not what golden Mountains, leaving no Method unattempted, whereby he might induce me both to confeſs I know not what heinous Crimes, and to diſcover and accuſe others as Accomplices therein, when by Witneſſes hunted out and ſuborn'd from all Quarters, he found himſelf unable to make Proof of either. Nor could you eaſily believe, ſays he, if you had not heard it your ſelf, how much he was exaſperated, as well as the reſt of his Rebel-Aſſeſſors, at my Silence, which he was pleaſed to call Contumacy. And indeed, continues he, it is very abſurd to expect the leaſt Mercy or Humanity from them, who have been ſo long inur'd to Cruelty and Barbarity, now they have found, I am neither to be won with their Allurements, nor forced with

their

their Threats. For which Reaſon, ſays he, I muſt beg dear Mr. *Otway*'s inceſſant Prayers to our moſt merciful God in my behalf, that after ſo many great and illuſtrious Perſons (whom I follow at a great Diſtance, and devoutly kiſs their ſacred Footſteps) having engaged in a moſt honourable and righteous Cauſe, and abetted it to the utmoſt of my poor Ability, I may not at laſt ſink under the Load, if they ſhould proceed to Extremities; for it is very meet, that being ſupported by the Divine Aid, and having before my Eyes both the Royal Martyr, who lately ſet us ſo glorious an Example in finiſhing this Courſe, and even Chriſt himſelf the Judge and Rewarder of our Conſtancy and Perſeverance therein, and who has prepared the Way for us, I ſhould not unwillingly lay down this Life, which God, as you ſee, has beyond all Expectation reſtored me as it were from Death. Nor do I doubt, continues he, but all thoſe *Grey's-Inn* Friends of ours, kind to me beyond my Deſerts, wiſh as well to our oppreſſed Country and afflicted Prince, as either you or I (for I have been many Years ſufficiently appriz'd of your good Will to both) and will be as ready to ſerve them, when

Occaſion

Occaſion ſhall offer; and I ſhould willingly exhort you and them to Perſeverance and Conſtancy in theſe moſt difficult Times, but that I would not add Spurs where there is no Need. And when in this moſt noble Race of Love to his Country Mr. *Barwick* led the Way ſo cheerfully, notwithſtanding all his Load of Fetters; he that would not willingly have followed him, one who was ſo ſignal an Inſtance of the extraordinary Favour of God, that had preſerved him from the Malice of his barbarous Enemies, and from the Violence of a deſperate Diſeaſe; and was ſo noble an Example of unſhaken Virtue, and Evenneſs of Mind, which God called him to exerciſe for the Inſtruction of others: He, I ſay, that would not readily have followed ſuch a Leader, muſt have been much leſs zealous and active than Mr. *Otway* was: For this was that brave Mr. *Otway*, who firſt of all the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was not afraid publickly and learnedly to [w] defend the Royal Cauſe againſt the wicked Aſſociation of thoſe, which were thence cal-

[w] Not improbably in ſome publick Exerciſe in the College or Univerſity.

led

led the [x] aſſociated Counties, in deſpight of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion, and all their Malice; firſt of all was thrown into Priſon for that heroick Action; and being firſt of all expell'd the Univerſity, courageouſly led up the firſt Rank, as it were, of *Academick* Combatants, who fought ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt ſavage Brutes in that glorious Conflict for their oppreſſed Country: Nor did he ſhew leſs Courage afterwards in the Field againſt the ſworn Enemies of the Kingdom, than he had formerly done in the Univerſity.

When Mr. *Otway* had abundantly expreſſed his Joy, that his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* had ſo much beyond all Hopes recovered from ſuch a deplorable State of Health, and had born all the Hardſhip and Miſery of his moſt barbarous Confinement with ſo much Serenity, Cheerfulneſs, and Greatneſs of Mind; he began at laſt to enquire of him, from whence (after the Loſſes ſuſtained in his Fortune, ſo much broken at *Cambridge*, and ſince quite ruined here at *London*) he was able to obtain wherewithal

[x] See above p. 29.

to

to keep himſelf in ſo good Plight; for that if he were not ſufficiently provided for at the Charge of the Common-wealth (as they called it) according to the Cuſtom of that famous Priſon, always obſerved as long as the Monarchy laſted, he and his Companions of *Grey's-Inn* (as was but meet in the common Cauſe of all good Men) were willing to contribute to his Relief. Mr. *Barwick* deſired he would return his Thanks to thoſe worthy Gentlemen for their kind Offer made by him, which he would accept hereafter, if there ſhould be Occaſion; but that he was not willing to be unneceſſarily burthenſome to his Friends, eſpecially in that calamitous Condition not only of himſelf in particular, but of all the Royaliſts in general; that hitherto by the wonderful Goodneſs of God and his Friends Kindneſs, though he had never received a Half-peny from the preſent Government, he had never wanted wherewith both to provide himſelf ſuch ſlender Diet, as ſeem'd moſt agreeable to his State of Health, and alſo now and then to gratify his ſurly Keepers, Nor was it without Difficulty, that Mr. *Otway* prevailed with him to accept a ſmall Pledge of their further Bounty

to him, if afterwards he ſhould have need of it. Indeed if Mr. *Barwick* would have abuſed the Benevolence of his Friends, he might have grown rich under this Confinement: but he had ſuch an Abhorrence of any Thing like that, that whatever Preſent was made him by ſuch, as could not very well afford it, he afterwards took Care to repay, as if it had been only borrowed.

This great Example of Chriſtian Patience and unwearied Piety made ſuch an Impreſſion upon Mr. *Robert Browne* the Deputy Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who under *Weſt* the Lieutenant had the chief Care of the whole Priſon, that he was very forward to do Mr. *Barwick* all the good Offices in his Power, was together with his Wife and Family daily at Prayers with him, received the bleſſed Sacrament from his Hands, brought his new-born Child to be baptiz'd by him, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, and indeed became ſo thorough a Penitent, that he would no longer ſerve under the Uſurpation, but ſoon after returned to his own Trade, that of a Cabinet-Maker, as more honeſt, though leſs gainful. Nay after his Child had been baptiz'd according to the

Rites

Rites of our Church, he became little leſs hateful to his Anabaptiſt Maſters, than Mr. *Barwick* himſelf, for whoſe Virtue and Piety he had ever after a moſt profound Regard. They that ſtood Godfathers at this Chriſtening, according to the antient Practice of the Church, were two *Scotch* Noblemen, the Lord [y] *Ogilby* and the Lord *Spiney*,

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[y] *James* Lord *Ogilby* eldeſt Son to *James* Earl of *Airly*, chief of the great and antient Family of *Ogilvie* (as they are called in *Scotland*) deſcended from *Gilbert*, Son of *Gilebred*, and Brother of *Gilchriſt* Earl of *Angus*, who flouriſhed in the Reign of King *William* called the *Lion*, and obtaining of that Prince the Barony of *Ogilvie*, took his Sirname from thence, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. Sir *Walter Ogilvie*, who ſeems to have been the chief Branch of the Family, had in the 15th Year of *Robert* the Second, the Barony of *Auchterhouſe* by his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of Sir *William Ramſay*, and was ſlain at the Battel of *Hairlaw July* 29, 1411. His ſecond Son by that Marriage, Sir *Walter Ogilvie* of *Linſtrathan*, laid the Foundation of this noble Family, having on the Reſtoration of King *James* the Firſt been choſen of his Privy-Council, and conſtituted Lord High Treaſurer of *Scotland*, *Anno* 1424, and Maſter of the Houſhold 1431, the former of which Places he held ſeven Years, the latter till that King's Death, *Anno* 1437, and died himſelf *Anno* 1441. His Grandſon Sir *James Ogilvie* going Ambaſſador to *Denmark* from King *James* the Fourth, *Anno* 1492, was on his return made Lord *Ogilvie*. *James* the ſixth Lord *Ogilvie*, and the ſixth in Deſcent from him by a Daughter of Sir *John Campbel* of *Calder* (a Family I muſt always mention with Honour for the great Obligations I have to that learned and worthy Gentleman who is now the Head of it) ſucceeded to this Lordſhip *Anno* 1554, and after a long Impriſonment for his faithful Adherence to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, was releas'd on King *James* the Sixth's taking the Government on himſelf, and by him ſent Ambaſſador to *Denmark* in 1596, to aſſiſt at the Coronation

[z] *Spiney*, and the Godmother a Perſon of great Note,

Coronation of King *Criſtern* the Fourth, and died in 1606. His Grandſon *James*, Father of our Lord *Ogilby*, for his Fidelity to King *Charles* the Firſt, in the beginning of his Troubles, was by Letters Patent dated at *York April* 2, 1639, made Earl of *Airly*. When the Civil War broke out, this noble Earl heartily and perſonally engaged in the King's Service, and as his ſecond Son Sir *Thomas Ogilvie* ſerved his Majeſty bravely at the Head of a Regiment of his own raiſing, always with great Succeſs, till the Fight of *Inverneſs*, wherein he loſt his Life; ſo as ſoon as the great Marqueſs of *Montroſe* took the Field for the King, his eldeſt Son *James* Lord *Ogilvie* frankly engaged his Perſon in the Service, and always behaved with ſignal Courage. At the unfortunate Adventure of *Philipſhaugh* he was taken Priſoner, and tried and condemned by the Parliament; but the Night before he was to be executed, he made his Eſcape out of the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s in the Cloaths of his Siſter Lady *Anne Urquhart* of *Meldrum*, and again engaged in the ſame Service, and with the ſame Affection. Of him and the Earl his Father I had this further Account from a learned Nobleman of his own Country, well acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times; That they were both moſt zealous Anti-Covenanters, and for that Reaſon were both excommunicated by the Presbyterians; That they were in moſt of the Actions in *Scotland* from the beginning of the Rebellion, and upon every Occaſion diſtinguiſhed themſelves with the utmoſt Loyalty and the greateſt Courage: That General *Monk* having taken *Dundee* by Storm, and heard that ſeveral of the Loyal Party were met ten Miles off that Place at a Village called *Eliot*, on the Confines of the *Highlands* in the County of *Angus*, to concert Meaſures for ſerving the King, and ſtopping *Cromwell*'s Progreſs in *Scotland*, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe from *Dundee*, who ſurprizing them in Bed, brought him the chief of them Priſoners, *viz.* the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Spiney*, and others, who from *Dundee* were immediately ſent by Sea to *London*, and confin'd in the *Tower*: That after the Reſtoration he was in great Favour with King *Charles* and King *James*, always in a military Employment, and commanded a Troop of Horſe for King *James* at *Reading*, when the Prince of *Orange*'s Troops ſurpriz'd thoſe of the King in that Town, and being then paſt fourſcore was yet in great Vigour both of Body and Mind,

Note, the Wife of General *David* [a] *Leſley*, Commander of the *Scotch* Horſe, who having formerly with too good Succeſs ſerved the

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and lived ſome Years after the Revolution, privately at his own Houſe, in great Honour and Reputation: He was Grandfather to the preſent Earl, now attainted and in Exile, and the Eſtate in the Perſon of his Brother. See *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 4, &c. *Britiſh Compend.* Part 2. p. 143.

[z] A Deſcendant of the old and great Family of *Crawford*, created a Lord either by King *James* the Sixth or his Son King *Charles*, a very good Soldier and an eminent Loyaliſt. He commanded a Regiment of Horſe in the Army that invaded *England* in the Year 1648, under the Command of *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, and after the Defeat of that Army at *Preſton*, made his Eſcape into *Scotland*, and was ſtill employed in the Service of the King until the Time he was ſeized at *Eliot*, and carried Priſoner to *London*. He ſurvived the Reſtoration many Years, and died without leaving any Iſſue Male, or any great Eſtate, which he had conſumed in the King's Service.

[a] Mr. *Crawford* in his Peerage of *Scotland*, and from him the *Britiſh Compendium* by Miſtake call him Sir *Alexander Leſly*: He was a younger Son of Captain *George Leſly*, of the Houſe of *Bulquhain* in the County of *Aberdeen*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Families of the *Leſlies*. He enter'd early on the Life of a Soldier, and after having ſerved with great Reputation in my Lord *Vere's* Regiment in *Holland*, and under *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, as his Lieutenant General, Velt Marſhal of his Armies, and Governor of *Stralſund* (of which he forced Count *Walſtein* to raiſe the Siege, and afterwards drove the *Imperialiſts* out of *Rugen*) in 1638 he was invited back to *Scotland* by the diſaffected Nobility, to be the General of their intended Invaſion upon *England*, which being put a Stop to by the Pacification, but the War ſoon breaking out again, he was again choſen General of their Army which enter'd *England* in *Auguſt* 1640, and upon the Peace concluded in 1641 was made Earl of *Leven*. On the breaking out of the *Iriſh* Rebellion he was appointed General of the *Scotch* Forces ſent over to ſuppreſs it; whence the Parliament recalled him in 1643, to aſſiſt them againſt the King, and owed chiefly to him their great Victory at

the ſworn Enemies of the Church and Crown, at length coming over to the King's ſide, was taken Priſoner at *Worceſter* Fight. And as great an Enemy as he (as well as his Confederates whoſe Armies he had led) had not long ſince been to all the Offices of the Church of *England*, he now condeſcended

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at *Marſton-Moor* on the 16th of *July* 1644. In 1648 he was offered the Command of that Army, which the Eſtates of *Scotland* rais'd for the King's Relief under his Confinement, but declin'd it on account of his Age and Infirmities. Yet after the King's Murder he ſerved as a Volunteer for the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Son, at the Battel of *Dunbar*, and under the King himſelf the next Year at *Worceſter* Fight, as his Majeſty's Lieutenant General, where *Crawford* (ibid. p. 266.) ſays nothing of his having been taken Priſoner (as my Author does here, and my Lord *Clarendon*, *Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B.* 13. *p.* 411.) but ſays expreſly, that he was taken afterwards at *Eliet*, together with the Lords *Ogilby* and *Spiney*, as has been already mentioned in the Notes concerning them. He ſays alſo (*ibid.*) that the Meeting at *Eliot* was to conſult of Means to relieve *Dundee*, while General *Monk* lay before it (which if ſo, was before he took it by Storm) and that Colonel *Morgan* commanded that ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, which *Monk* ſent to ſurprize them. As little Regard as the Parliament had to all the Service he had formerly done them, now he had changed Sides, and was become their Priſoner; yet the Queen of *Sweden*, upon an Alliance made between the Parliament and that Kingdom, in Remembrance of his great Services performed to the Crown of *Sweden*, ſued to them by her Reſident then at *London* for his Liberty, and obtained it. For this great Honour he went to return her Majeſty his Thanks in Perſon, and after ſuch a Reception at that Court as was due to his Quality and Merit, returned to his own Country, and lived in a voluntary Retirement moſtly at his Seat at *Balgony* in *Fife*, and died *Anno* 1662. See *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 264, &c. *Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 2. p. 145, &c.

to afford his Preſence at this holy Function; which was no ſooner ended, but my Lord *Ogilby*, who had always maintained the Cauſe of both Church and Monarchy with great Conſtancy and Courage, addreſſes himſelf to General *Leſley* in this manner. "What I have been here doing to Day, "my dear *Leſley*, will not ſeem new or "unuſual to any one; becauſe I have al- "ways had a great Veneration for the "Church of *England*, formerly the moſt "beautiful part of the Reformation, and "ſtill ſubſiſting in a few Perſons of extra- "ordinary Piety, though in ſecret Cells, "as we have now had an Inſtance. There- "fore our very Reverend Friend Mr. *Bar-* "*wick*, who has ſuffered ſo much for his "Stedfaſtneſs to this Church of his, which "alſo teaches us to pay that Honour due "to the King, will not be ſo much rejoi- "ced at that Share I have willingly had in "this holy Function, as at your bare Pre- "ſence at it, of whoſe former Averſion, or "at leaſt Diſaffection to theſe Rites he muſt "have been appriz'd." Hereto the Gene- ral makes this Anſwer: "Let us not, dear "*Ogilby*, recall what is paſt: You ſee now "very evidently, that ſuch ſacred Offices as

" theſe are by no Means unacceptable to " me, which may not be a little owing to " the extraordinary Virtue and Piety of " this holy Man: And for the future I ſhall " be ſo far from having any Quarrel againſt " the Epiſcopal Order, to which you may " poſſibly have thought me a ſworn Ene- " my, that I rather eſteem it no little Ho- " nour to me, that a [b] Perſon of our Fa- " mily and Name, a Man of ſome Learn- " ing and Reputation, and no Enemy to " the Royal Cauſe (I wiſh he had been as " Orthodox in all other Points) was a Bi- " ſhop in *Scotland* in the laſt Age." It was very agreeable to Mr. *Barwick* to hear theſe two *Scotch* Noblemen ſpeak with ſo much Reſpect of the Church, which was ſo dear to him in that her lamentable Eſtate, when ſhe ſeemed to be crucified with her Lord: But it added much to that Satisfaction, to hear ſo much ſaid in behalf of her Rites and Government, and that with ſo

[b] This was undoubtedly Dr. *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, who anſwers the Character in every particular, was Biſhop in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, a celebrated Author, true to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, but a zealous Papiſt, otherwiſe a great Man. See *Camdeni Elizab.* p. 234, 283. Mr. *Hearne*'s Edit.

much Candor and Freedom by the Ring-leader of all the Covenanters.

After the Chriſtening was over Mr. *Browne* ſtill ſhewed every Day more Civility, if poſſible, to Mr. *Barwick*. As he had for many Months paid him great Reſpect; ſo for all the Remainder of his Life he eſteemed him little leſs than a Father, who in ſome Meaſure had begotten him and all his Family to Chriſt. There is no doubt but Mr. *Weſt* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* could have diſturbed this Solemnity, or at leaſt have prevented many of the good Offices done Mr. *Barwick* by his Deputy Lieutenant *Browne*, beyond the Order of their Maſters, if he had not willingly connived at them, ſtruck with the glorious Brightneſs of the Divine Preſence darting out of the obſcure Cell of this moſt holy Anchorite. Some who were no Strangers to the Affairs of that Time, ſay, that Mr. *Weſt* did not only not diſapprove of all theſe Things, but heartily, though ſecretly, favoured them. Thus much I am ſure of, that he who not long ſince ſo officiouſly guarded Mr. *Barwick*, and executed the ſevereſt Orders of his new Maſters againſt him, nay treated him with more Rigour and

and Severity even than he could juſtify from their expreſs Orders under their Hands, did now on a ſudden ſo intirely repent, or at leaſt was ſo much ſoftened, that he was as ready to do him all Offices of Humanity, as Mr. *Browne* was, thoſe of Duty and Religion; for he removed him out of a moſt noiſome Dungeon into a handſome convenient Chamber, with a pair of Leads over it, where he might enjoy freer Air, and ſometimes alſo the Company of his Friends. He likewiſe more than once in his behalf made Application to the Mock-Council of State, that according to the Cuſtom of that antient Priſon (in which there had never been ſo heinous a Criminal, as not to have been liberally enough provided for at the Expence of the Government) a certain Allowance of Meat and Drink might be granted him under his Confinement; and at length, after having frequently repeated this Requeſt to them without Succeſs, he took Care to ſend him daily from his own Table ſuch Meat as was moſt ſuitable to his State of Health. Yet it muſt not be denied, that after the reiterated Solicitations of the Lieutenant on this behalf, Mr. *Barwick* in two Years and four Months, du-

ring which he was confined, received the poor Sum of four Pounds five Shillings of our Money from the new Common-wealth. So much did they indulge him in his Illneſs, to recover the Fleſh he had loſt by his Conſumption: Nor did they grant him this little, till Mr. *Weſt* had wearied them with his Importunity, and his Priſoner had laboured full two Years under this grievous Confinement; but then at laſt, during the Remainder [c] of his Impriſonment, he was allowed five Shillings a Week towards his Subſiſtence.

Having granted him this one ſmall Favour, the violent Rage of his Oppreſſors began to cool; for (as was intimated above) ſince he would not betray himſelf, after he had burnt his Cypher, they were able to find nothing againſt him, only that he had received from ſome other Hand Letters written in Characters, ſuperſcribed to another Name. But it was now ſome Months, that that execrable Court of Judicature had

[c] *Viz.* The laſt four Months, which at five Shillings *per* Week, reckoning the ſeventeenth Week then begun, comes to juſt four Pounds five Shillings, the Sum juſt now mentioned.

been

been aboliſhed, which they called the High Court of Juſtice, and which not long before they had made a ſtanding Court to continue ſix Months in the Year, for the Deſtruction of the Royaliſts, and appointed one *Keeble* an inſolent mercenary Pettifogger, to be Preſident thereof; who did not try Perſons according to the antient Way, by the Verdict of a Jury; but without either Witneſs or Law, as well as without Shame, whomſoever he thought there was ſufficient Ground of ſuſpecting to favour the Royal Cauſe, he immediately condemned him to the Gallows, and without more ado had him executed. In this bloody Slaughter-houſe were butcher'd Colonel *Euſebius Andrews*, and other honeſt Loyal Subjects. And they threatned at that Time no leſs Cruelty againſt Mr. *Barwick*, while they entertained any Hope of finding at laſt, either from his own Confeſſion, or the Teſtimony of ſuborn'd Witneſſes, any thing againſt him, on which it might be lawful, even by the Practice of that Court, to charge him with an Indictment of High Treaſon. Nor was the aboliſhing of this ſanguinary Court more for Mr. *Barwick*'s Safety, than thoſe new Cares and Anxieties that

that ſolicited the Minds of the Rebels, and diverted their Thoughts to other Matters, who were now jealous of their Friends, as they had been formerly afraid of their Enemies: For they had too much Reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Cromwell* being fluſhed with the Victory, and laden with the Trophies he had [f] gained at *Worceſter*, after he had by Fraud and Perjury brought three Kingdoms under his Yoke, was now meditating Violence againſt the Partners and Accomplices of all his Wickedneſs, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he had ſo often triumphed; was going to commit a Rape upon the Mock Common-wealth, which being drunk with the Blood as well as adorned with the Spoils of ſo many loyal Subjects, prided herſelf in her ſtolen Purple; and was juſt ready with inceſtuous Hands to raviſh a Government that lived by Rapine. Nor did *Bradſhaw* and the reſt of his Aſſociates, the Guardians of the Common-wealth, think it for their Intereſt to undergo the Infamy of any farther Cruelty, and bear a Load of Envy no ways agreeable, for the Sake

[f] On the third of *September Anno* 1651, that very Day Twelvemonth on which he had beat the *Scots* at *Dunbar*.

of

of *Cromwell* alone, whom they hated beyond Meaſure, and well knew, he would pull down all that had hitherto ſat at the Helm. For this Reaſon they that were ſolicitous for Mr. *Barwick*'s Safety, thought it proper to take the Advantage of this Conjuncture, and make Application to the Council of State, that after having now ſuffered two Years and four Months cloſe Confinement, without being ever brought to a Trial, he might at laſt be diſcharged. And this was obtained without much Difficulty upon the ſeventh of *Auguſt* 1652. But Mr. *Barwick* was obliged to give Security to appear at the Tribunal of the Common-wealth, and take his Trial, if ſummoned thereto within twelve Months, and to find two others to be bound with him in the ſame Security. Theſe were Mr. *Thomas Wharton* Student of *Grey's-Inn*, and Mr. *Richard* [h] *Royſton* Bookſeller of *London*. He that had the chief part in procuring this Enlargement was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, Mr. *Weſt*, who had now for ſeveral Months ſhewed Mr. *Barwick* all the Kind-

[h] See Note [n] p. 33.

neſs

neſs in his Power, not without giving ſome Diſguſt to his Maſters. But three Days after he had obtained him his Liberty, he himſelf died ſuddenly of an Apoplexy, and was ſucceeded in the Lieutenancy by an infamous Wretch *John Barkſted*, who had been one of the forwardeſt to glut himſelf with the Royal Martyr's Blood, and from whoſe cruel Tyranny Mr. *Barwick* had now very ſeaſonably withdrawn himſelf.

The Studies in which he had employed himſelf in this Solitude (beſides daily Prayers, which according to the Cuſtom of the Church, and the Practice of the Apoſtles he always attended at the Canonical Hours) were either the holy Scriptures themſelves, or approved Authors that commented upon them. But as long as *Keeble*'s Court of Juſtice ſubſiſted, he ſtudied the holy Scriptures only, being prohibited the Uſe of all other Books whatſoever, as well as of Pen, Ink, and Paper. In reading theſe over and over he ſo imprinted the ſacred Text in his Memory, that he had the whole Bible almoſt at Heart. The Fanaticks, with whom alone he had any Converſation at that Time, took a wonderful Pleaſure in wreſting the Scriptures from their genuine Senſe,

Senſe, and drawing Sophiſtical Arguments from them againſt the received Uſages of the Church, and that holy Doctrine which Mr. *Barwick* maintained. But he out of the ſame Quiver had Darts always ready at Hand, with which he eaſily repell'd all the Force of his Adverſaries, and more than once ſtop'd the Mouths of *Bradſhaw* himſelf and his Aſſeſſors. Some of thoſe with whom he oftenеſt convers'd, he brought entirely back into the Boſom of the Church (as was mentioned above) and made a Perſon of Conſideration as well as Ingenuity ſpeak at leaſt, and think with more Reſpect concerning her, if not favour her alſo from his Heart.

After his Deliverance from the Priſon Mr. *Barwick* ſpent ſome Time in his private Studies, till he could conveniently return to the Management of the King's Affairs: He read Prayers every Day at ſome Friend's Houſe: Often at his excellent Patron's the Biſhop of *Durham*, who receiv'd this moſt welcome Gueſt with the deareſt Embraces: Often with his aged Parents, whoſe chief Comfort and Support it was, under the weight of their Years, that God had bleſſed them with a Son, who ſo ſtrenuouſly

aſſerted

aſſerted the Cauſe of his oppreſſed Country, and of Chriſtian Piety ſo much decayed. But he did not think it proper to make any long Stay with the incomparable Lady *Savile* (who had a great Reſpect for ſuch of the Clergy, as adorned their Doctrine by the Holineſs of their Lives, and among thoſe particularly for him) fearing to expoſe her too much to the Malice and Jealouſy of their Enemies. But with Sir *Thomas Ersfield* of *Suſſex*, who ſeemed leſs obnoxious to their Suſpicion, he ſojourn'd a conſiderable Time: For in his Houſe he had the Uſe of a Library well furniſhed with the Writers of the Primitive Church, with which Mr. *Barwick* moſt deſired to converſe, and which of late he had much wanted at the Biſhop of *Durham*'s, who was at laſt conſtrained to ſell his Library, well ſtored with all ſorts of good Books, to ſupport himſelf when above fourſcore and ten Years old, he that was formerly uſed to ſupport ſo many others, when before this Rebellion he enjoyed an honourable Poſt in the Government of the Church, with a very plentiful Income. But to return to Mr. *Barwick*; having thus wonderfully ſtruggled through ſo many Hardſhips,

he

he was received by all his Friends with little leſs Kindneſs and Reſpect, than if he had been one riſen from the Dead.

But when *Cromwell* had raiſed himſelf to the Protectorſhip, and got the Reins of the Common-wealth into his Hands; and the twelve Months were now expired, within which Mr. *Barwick* had given Security to appear at the Rebels Mock-Tribunal on their firſt Summons, and had heard in all that Time of no Indictment againſt him; he goes to *Bradſhaw*, whom *Cromwell* had now turned out, to conſult with him, what was to be done, in order to get his Bond cancelled; ſince it ought to lay him under no farther Obligation to the Common-wealth, now changed into a new Tyranny. *Bradſhaw* receives him with great Courteſy and Civility, and profeſſes himſelf willing to do him any good Office even with *Cromwell* himſelf, if he had Intereſt enough in him. But, Sir, ſays he, there is no Occaſion, that you ſhould be very ſolicitous about this Matter; for ſuch Papers are either all loſt, or otherwiſe lye in ſo much Diſorder and Confuſion, that they are never like to give Trouble to any one. Hence he took occaſion to expreſs himſelf with

great Bitterneſs againſt *Cromwell*, and utter the moſt direful Execrations againſt his arbitrary tyrannical Government; but ſpake as reſpectfully of the Royal Authority exerciſed within thoſe Bounds preſcribed by the Laws, as if he had had a Mind to return into Favour with Kings. But you Cavaliers (ſays he ſmiling) muſt needs laugh in your Sleeves at our Diſſentions, and the Struggle there is amongſt us, who ſhall have the Government; and promiſe your King, not without Reaſon, great Advantages from our Diſagreement.

There were at that Time very many Perſons of Note in the King's Intereſt, who looked upon that as a moſt favourable Conjuncture to attempt his Majeſty's Reſtoration, when *Cromwell*'s Friends themſelves began to be weary of his Government. With theſe Mr. *Barwick* was always in Readineſs to contribute his Share to ſo glorious a Work. Yet *Cromwell* long defeated all their Endeavours, by bribing ſome of them over to his Side, of whoſe Fidelity it was thought his Majeſty neither could nor ought to entertain the leaſt Suſpicion. However by ſome brave Men thoſe Seeds were then ſown, which afterwards grew up to a Harveſt

veſt for their oppreſſed Country's Relief, rich and plentiful beyond all they could hope for. O that we (wicked and ungrateful Nation as we are!) had not denied thoſe Thanks to our gracious God, the munificent Donor of that Bleſſing, which were due for ſo great an Inſtance of his Goodneſs to us! What part Mr. *Barwick* took upon himſelf to perform in this great Work, in which every good Man had his Share; how conſiderable and important Service he did, and how acceptable to his Majeſty, I ſhall endeavour as briefly as I well can to relate.

There were at that Time two Perſons of chief Rank in the Army under *Cromwell*, Colonel [i] *John Clobery* and Colonel *Daniel Redman*, who commanded two Regiments, the former in *Scotland*, and the latter in *Ireland*, both of them greatly beloved by their Soldiers, and both Brothers-in-Law to Mr. *Otway* abovementioned; Colonel *Redman* having married that Gen-

[i] Afterwards Sir *John Clobery* of *Winchester*, where there is a ſtately Monument erected to his Memory in the Cathedral, with a long Inſcription lately publiſhed in the Antiquities of that Church. See more of him in a Note below.

tleman's own, and Colonel *Clobery*, his Wife's Siſter. Mr. *Otway*, who had religiouſly preſerved his Fidelity to the King, and always maintained a ſtrict Friendſhip with Mr. *Barwick*, had made it his Buſineſs for ſome Years (ſtill conſulting him as there was Occaſion) to endeavour to bring over to the King's Intereſt theſe two conſiderable Men, moſt dear to him for their Friendſhip, as well as for their Affinity. And the honourable Lady *Savile*, who always admitted Mr. *Barwick* into her moſt ſecret Counſels, uſed the like Endeavours by proper Perſons and Arguments to ſolicit Colonel [k] *Robert Venables*, a Perſon of great Note in *Cromwell*'s Army, to take Compaſſion of his afflicted Country (groaning under the Oppreſſion of that Tyrant) and return to his Duty to the King. All theſe eminent Men (though not all at one and the ſame Time, yet by Degrees) were

[k] Deſcended from the antient and honourable Family of the Barons of *Kinderton* in *Cheſhire*, one of the Baronies erected by *Hugh Lupus* the Great Earl of *Cheſter*, in the Time of *William* the Conqueror, who granted him that Earldom *to be holden as freely by his Sword, as the King himſelf held* England *by his Crown.* Dugd. *Bar. Vol.* 1. *p.* 32, 35. Heylin's *Help to Engliſh Hiſtory*, p. 135.

brought back to their Duty. And though this was ſome Time effecting, yet they were Perſons of ſo much Generoſity, as not only to receive in a friendly manner whatever was offered them in Diſcourſe to that Purpoſe, without ever diſcovering it; but alſo at laſt to employ their Endeavours for the King's Service, each in his ſeveral Poſt, to no mean Purpoſe. In order to negotiate his Majeſty's Affairs with theſe Gentlemen and others, Mr. *Barwick* was often obliged to intermit his private Studies, and ride from *Suſſex* up to *London*, the chief Seat of all that was then doing towards a happy Reſtoration.

About this Time the Rebels were deliberating with themſelves, whether they ſhould not (according to *Hobbes*'s Doctrine then lately publiſhed [1]) deſtroy all ſuch as they thought really favoured the Royal Cauſe. But the Uſurper following milder Counſels, and knowing that the Number of ſuch Perſons was too great to be ſlaughtered, contented himſelf to plunder them, though they had been more than once plun-

[1] In his *Leviathan*.

dered before. From thoſe of the Laity, who had any thing of Eſtate ſtill left, he exacted a tenth Part of their Revenue: But the Clergy having been already deprived of all, he thunders out a moſt cruel [m] Interdict againſt them, threatning every Man of them with the ſevereſt Impriſonment, who either in publick Aſſembly, or privately in any Gentleman's Houſe, ſhould dare either to preach or read Prayers according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, or to teach any School. How Mr. *Barwick* behaved himſelf in this afflicted State of the Publick, evidently appears from a Letter of his to his venerable Patron the Biſhop of *Durham*, dated *February* 23d, 1655, a Copy whereof is here ſubjoined,

Right Reverend Father in God,

" The laſt Letter I wrote your Lordſhip " may have given you ſo much Trouble " upon what I noted on your Papers, that I " believe you will eaſily pardon my Silence " ſince, which yet I am obliged to break " now, by the preſent Situation of Affairs, " unleſs I would be wanting in my Duty

[m] That of *January* 1655. Dr. *Hammond*'s Life, p. xi.

" to

" to your Lordſhip. How deadly a Wound
" our diſtreſſed Church, as it were juſt
" fetching her laſt Breath, has received
" from the late Ordinance, your Lordſhip
" has no need to be informed by me: Yet
" I thought it not improper to acquaint
" your Lordſhip by this Letter, what I
" looked upon as incumbent upon me to do
" in this State of Things. Indeed I hope
" the good *Samaritan*, who had ſo much
" *Compaſſion upon* the wounded Stranger,
" and *poured* ſo much *Oil and Wine into his*
" *Wounds* [n], will by no Means be wanting
" to his moſt dear Bride, now ſhe in like
" manner is *ſtrip'd* and *wounded*. In truth
" I cannot but from the bottom of my
" Heart commiſerate the Condition of ſuch
" of the Clergy, as have Wives and Chil-
" dren to maintain. But I yet more lament
" the hard Fate of the Laity; inaſmuch as
" their eternal Welfare is to be preferr'd to
" the temporal Eſtate of the other. As to
" my own ſelf (I bleſs God for it) I am very
" little concerned; having no one elſe
" to be ruined with me, and being a Perſon

[n] *Luke* x. 30, to 35.

" of no great Importance; and yet if it
" were otherwiſe, I ſhould certainly be ſo
" much the fitter to bear Teſtimony to ſo
" glorious a Cauſe with any Hazard what-
" ever; which by God's Help I ſhall not
" think much to do, if I cannot otherwiſe
" perform that Duty, which is ſo neceſſary
" to the Church. For the Offices of preach-
" ing and duly adminiſtring the Sacraments,
" of late forbidden us to exerciſe, are thoſe
" two great Truſts, which God committed
" to my Charge, when I undertook that
" difficult Province, to which he vouchſaf-
" ed to call me. And as to the Form of
" Common-Prayer, it is ſo far prohibit-
" ed, that even the Apoſtles Creed, the
" very Pſalms of *David*, and the Lord's
" Prayer it ſelf may ſeem to fall under
" the ſame Prohibition. I ſhould therefore
" make no doubt to appeal to the Judgment
" of the bittereſt Enemy himſelf (ſo that
" he had not entirely ſhook off all Senſe of
" Piety, and Uſe of Reaſon) what I ought
" to do in this Caſe. By this your Lord-
" ſhip will eaſily conclude, both what I
" think my Duty obliges me to, and by
" what Reaſons I am perſuaded thereto;
" two Particulars which I thought it ne-
" ceſſary

" ceſſary to lay before your Lordſhip, not
" only as a common Father of the Church,
" but in a ſtricter Senſe, as having the pe-
" culiar Juriſdiction of a Dioceſan over me,
" who on that Account owe your Lord-
" ſhip canonical Obedience. But beſides
" theſe two, I muſt own my ſelf obliged to
" your Lordſhip by a third Ground of Du-
" ty, that you vouchſafed long ſince to take
" me into the Number of your domeſtick
" Chaplains. All theſe Conſiderations to-
" gether, and indeed each of them ſingly,
" had been ſufficient to oblige me not to
" have determined any thing with my ſelf
" upon this Occaſion, till I had firſt receiv-
" ed your Lordſhip's Commands thereup-
" on, but that I was unwilling to expoſe
" your Lordſhip to ſo much Danger and Ill-
" will: Yet I reverently ſubmit all to your
" Authority and ſingular Judgment, mak-
" ing no doubt, but your Lordſhip will ap-
" prove what I have determined to do, I
" think, with good Reaſon; eſpecially when
" you ſhall underſtand, that for fear of fail-
" ing the Church in ſo neceſſary a Duty, I
" purpoſe to perform it with more Caution
" and Secrecy than uſual. But this I have
" reſolved, by God's Aſſiſtance, that if ever

" I am proſecuted on this Account, I will
" conceal nothing of what I do: For though
" I am not a Perſon that would excuſe
" the Madneſs of the ° *Circumcellians*; yet
" they were not condemned by the antient
" Fathers without ſome Compaſſion for
" them. And certainly I had much rather
" ſuffer under an unjuſt Suſpicion of their
" Temerity, than be accounted guilty of the
" Crime of ſuch as were called Traditors,
" than which ſort of Men nothing was of
" old more hateful either to God or Man.
" But I hope God will aſſiſt my Infirmity
" in the Diſcharge of this Office, eſpecially
" if I may ſtill enjoy the Benefit of your
" paternal Benediction, and Prayers to God

° A Sect of the *Donatiſts* in *Africa*, in the fourth Century, ſo called becauſe of their rambling from one Town to another. They pretended to publick Reformation and redreſſing of Grievances, manumis'd Slaves without their Maſters leave, forgave Debts not their own, and committed many other Inſolences. They were headed by *Maxides* and *Fafer*, at firſt marching only with Staves, but afterwards uſing all ſorts of Arms againſt the Catholicks. Through a miſtaken Zeal for Martyrdom ſome of them threw themſelves down Precipices, others leap'd into the Fire, and ſome cut their own Throats; ſo that their Biſhop was obliged to apply to the Magiſtracy, to put a Stop to their Frenzy. S. *Auguſt. de Hæres.* cap. 60. *Contra Creſcon. Gram.* l. 3. cap. 42, & 48. *Poſidon. de Vita Auguſtini.* cap. 10.

" for

" for that Purpoſe, which is the moſt hum-
" ble Requeſt of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt devoted humble Servant,

John Barwick.

This Letter was written from Sir *Thomas Ersfield*'s Houſe, where Mr. *Barwick* had been entertained with great Reſpect and Civility. But that hoſpitable Gentleman had not long before departed this Life; and the Lady *Ersfield* his diſconſolate Widow, to wear off her Grief, had by her Siſter, married to Sir *Thomas Middleton* (a Gentleman mentioned above, of great Reputation both among his own Countrymen of *Wales*, and alſo in the neighbouring Counties) been invited to *Cherk* [p] Caſtle, their noble Seat, whither the religious Lady carried Mr. *Barwick* along with her. Here Sir *Thomas Middleton* and he renewed their former

[p] In the County of *Denbigh* in *North-Wales.*

Conſul-

Conſultations concerning his Majeſty's Affairs. And that Mr. *Barwick* might more conveniently attend this Buſineſs, after his return out of *Wales*, he dwelt with his Brother, who was lately come to *London* to practiſe Phyſick. In his Houſe [q] finding an Oratory formerly conſecrated to God, but prophaned in the late Rebellion, he was at the Charge of reſtoring it to its antient Beauty, and conſtantly performed Divine Service there, recommending to God the Cauſe of the oppreſſed Church and King.

A little after he came to his Brother's Houſe, which was in the beginning of the Year 1658, was publiſhed, *A Treatiſe of the Nature of the Catholick Faith and of Hereſy* [r] (as it was intituled) written in *Engliſh* by one or two anonymous Authors, which gave Mr. *Barwick* no little Interruption in Matters he was employed in of much greater Moment. For thoſe Inventors of

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[q] In St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, where on the eighth of *May* 1661, the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, and other of the Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, *&c.* met in the Morning, and proceeded thence to the Cathedral, and began the firſt Seſſion of the Convocation for reviſing the Book of Common-Prayer. *Synod. Anglican. Append.* p. 60, 61.

[r] Printed at *Rouen*, 1657.

pious

pious Frauds pretended, that ſome Presbyterian Noblemen, who ſat in the late Parliament, had writ a certain Book, wherein they undertook to make appear to the Houſe, that the Biſhops had no Right to ſit there, becauſe they did not ſucceed the Biſhops of the laſt Age in an uninterrupted Line, as not having been duly conſecrated. At the ſame Time they invented this Story, that the Biſhop of *Durham*, Mr. *Barwick*'s moſt honoured Lord and Patron, to anſwer this Objection, had in a ſolemn Speech made in full Parliament, aſſerted in expreſs Words, that our firſt Biſhops after the Reformation had been conſecrated in a Tavern [f]; and that this was ſo far from being doubted, that it was a Fact moſt notorious all the World over; adding, that the reſt of the Biſhops preſent rather approved, than in the leaſt oppoſed what he ſaid. Thus was this ridiculous and incoherent Fable, which Mr. *Maſon* had long ſince [t] exploded, again brought to the Forge by theſe good Men, forſooth, and being ſmoothed over with

[f] The *Nagg*'s Head in *Cheapſide*.

[t] In his *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſive de legitimo ejuſdem miniſterio*, Lib. iii. cap. 8.

new

new Fictions, was obtruded afreſh upon the People. So little did they conſider in the mean Time, that none do more diſturb the Unity, and weaken the Faith of the Church, for which they would ſeem ſo much concerned, than ſuch as endeavour by Fraud and Falſhood to ſupport and maintain them. It was ſufficient to confute this doughty Argument of our Adverſaries, that the Biſhop of *Durham* was ſtill living, as probably they hoped he was not; for he was now in the ninety fifth Year of his Age. As ſoon therefore as his Friends gave him Notice of this Calumny faſtened upon him, when he thought of nothing leſs; he ſent from the Country, where he then reſided, for his Chaplain Mr. *Barwick* then at *London*, ordering him to bring a publick Notary with him, that by a ſolemn Proteſtation made before them and other proper Witneſſes, he might declare the Falſhood of this Story. When his Lordſhip had made this Proteſtation [u] in due Form, he employed Mr. *Barwick* to lay it before all thoſe Lords, who had ſat in that Parliament, and

[u] Sign'd *July* 17th 1658.

were

were yet ſurviving, whether Spiritual or Temporal, living either at *London*, or in the neighbouring Counties; appealing to the Faith of them all, that preferring the Sacredneſs of Truth to all other Conſiderations whatever, if they believed him undeſervedly aſpers'd with this Calumny, they would freely atteſt it by ſubſcribing their Names. And this was readily done [x] not only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the Proteſtation could be carried (and it was carried to a great many) but by all the Clerks alſo, and other Officers of the Houſe, whoſe Buſineſs it was to regiſter in authentick Journals all ſuch Debates, if there had been any: But they all declared, there was not the leaſt Footſtep to be found either of any ſuch Book, as was pretended to be laid before the Houſe, or of any ſuch Speech, as the Adverſaries alledged to have been made on that Occaſion. The aged Biſhop, now paſt managing Church Controverſies himſelf, lays his Commands on his Chaplain Mr. *Barwick* to publiſh this Proteſtation, together with the noble Teſti-

[x] Sign'd *July* 19, 1658.

mony

mony thereto ſubjoin'd. And this he deſigned to do in a juſt Volume: But when he heard that the learned [y] Biſhop of *Derry*, then an Exile in *Holland*, intended the ſame Thing (having been engaged before with the ſame Adverſaries in that Controverſy [z]) he readily left this Work to his Lordſhip's irrefragable Pen, furniſhing him in the mean Time with Materials proper to end this Diſpute [a], not only from this freſh Teſtimony of undoubted Authority, but alſo out of more antient Monuments, as old as the Reformation itſelf; and thoſe not only ſuch as were taken from the authentick Records of the Church, which Mr. *Maſon* had [b] formerly produced, and ſo aſtoniſhed his Adverſaries with them (as with the ſight of *Gorgon*'s Head) that they had remained under a profound Silence now about thirty Years: But likewiſe out of the pub-

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[y] Dr. *John Bramhall.*

[z] *Viz.* In his juſt Vindication of the Church of *England*, p. 133. In his Replication to the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, p. 253. And in Schiſm guarded, in anſwer to *Serjeant*, p. 422.

[a] Which was done in his Treatiſe, intituled, *The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified, the Biſhop of* Dureſme *vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the* Ordination *at the* Nagg's Head *clearly confuted.*

[b] De Miniſterio Anglicano ubi ſup.

lick

lick Records of the Kingdom, which agree ſo exactly with thoſe of the Church, that whoever will aſſert, that the Biſhops of our reformed Church were not canonically ordained, may with equal Right call into Queſtion the publick Faith of all Nations.

While Mr. *Barwick* was not unprofitably employed in this Affair, there were two Things wherein Dr. [c] *John Hewit*, a Perſon of great Integrity, and an eminent Divine, deſired to make uſe of his Aſſiſtance: One, that being now condemned to [d] death

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[c] Miniſter of St. *Gregory*'s Church near St. *Paul*'s *London*. Created D. D. at *Oxford*, *October* 17, 1643. *Wood*'s *Faſti Oxon*. Vol. 2. p. 723.

[d] Together with Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and beheaded on *Tower* Hill with him *June* 8, 1658, for conſpiring againſt the Uſurpation. *Wood ubi ſupra*. concerned it ſeems in that intended Riſing, which the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was in *London* at that Time to head, and which *Cromwell* had diſcovered, and ſome Time cheriſhed, to the very great Hazard of the Marqueſs himſelf. Sir *Philip Warwick*'s *Memoirs*, p. 385.

His Funeral Sermon was preached on the *Sunday* following his Execution, *viz. June* 13, at St. *Dyonis Back-Church* in *Lime* Street, by Mr. *Nathaniel Hardy* then Miniſter there, and publiſhed ſoon after; and not long after that came forth his Defence, intituled, *Beheaded Dr.* John Hewit's *Ghoſt—crying for Juſtice*, &c. containing his legal Plea, Demurrer and Exceptions to the illegal Juriſdiction, *&c.* drawn up by Counſel [Mr. *William Prynn*] and left behind him ready engroſſed, and would have been tendered—— had he not diſcerned their Reſolution to reject and over-rule, *&c.* printed at *London* 1649. containing eighteen Pages in Quarto.

by

by the Rebels, nor like to do his oppreſſed Country any farther Service for the future, than what was now done for it by the Royal Martyr, and the reſt of the glorious Saints in Heaven, he might put into Mr. *Barwick*'s Hands ſome hundreds of Pounds, which himſelf had procured for the King's Uſe, to be by him tranſmitted to his Majeſty: The other, that upon the Scaffold, that laſt Stage of his Chriſtian Fortitude and Piety, he might be aſſiſted by him, who had been ſo near laying down his Life alſo for the ſame moſt righteous Cauſe. Juſt before this pious Martyr ſubmitted his Neck to the Axe, he took a Ring from his Finger, and preſented it to Mr. *Barwick*, as the laſt Pledge of his Love. The Motto of it was *Alter Ariſtides*, another *Ariſtides*: But whether it was with Deſign, or rather by mere Accident, that the holy Man had this Ring on his Finger at that Time, is what I am not able to ſay: Certainly it ſeemed to have been firſt made for a much different Purpoſe, than to ſerve this tragical Occaſion. But Mr. *Barwick* always thought the Poſie very ſuitable thereto, and conſtantly wore the Ring all the remainder of his Life, as a faithful Monitor of that Duty and Affection he owed the

the Publick: For he accounted nothing a greater Reproach to his Nation, than that that illuſtrious Heathen, only by the Light of Nature, ſhould have ſhewed more Duty and Regard to his Country, than many among us, who make the greateſt boaſt of the Chriſtian Religion.

In his Brother's Houſe Mr. *Barwick* found ſecret Places, known to none but himſelf, very convenient for hiding both what Papers concerned the King's Buſineſs, and what Money he had for his Majeſty's Uſe. Among his Papers I found a great many Letters of the Lord Chancellor of *England*, at that Time chief Miniſter of State, concerning the arduous Affairs of the Church and Kingdom, moſt of them in Cypher written to Mr. *Barwick* after his return a ſecond Time to the Management of the King's Buſineſs, all which Letters preſerved by him, together with the Cypher, thereto belonging, I have[e] now in my Cuſtody. The King himſelf alſo condeſcended to write

[e] Thoſe Letters and the Cypher, with other Papers relating to the ſame Subject, were afterwards bound up together, and repoſited by the Author in the Library of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*.

ſome Letters, all in his own Hand, to this his moſt devoted and faithful Servant; therein not only moſt graciouſly acknowledging his faithful Endeavours for his Majeſty's Service, but even vouchſafing to commend them. Such of theſe Letters as moſt conduce to give Light to the Hiſtory I am writing, I thought proper to turn into Latin, more ſcrupulous perhaps to render the genuine Senſe of them almoſt Word for Word, than ſolicitous about the Elegance of the *Roman* Language. The King's firſt Letter dated *Bruſſels December* 30, 1658, was in theſe Words.

" I have this Day received from the ho-
" neſt Bearer your's of the 25th of *November*,
" and have likewiſe ſeen what you have
" writ to the Chancellor; and had your
" former that was directed to Mr. *Thornton*,
" though very long after it was written. I
" do thank you very heartily for the Pains
" you have taken; and aſſure your ſelf, I
" have a very juſt Senſe of what you have
" done, and what you have ſuffered for me;
" and if God bleſs me, you ſhall find the
" Effects of it. The hundred Pound deli-
" vered to Mr. *Thornton* I have received,
" as I doubt not I ſhall the reſt within the
" Time,

" Time, from the honeſt Bearer you truſt-
" ed. I conceive there is a Miſtake in the
" Accounts, for Mr. *Shaw* never received
" more than the hundred Pound from Mr.
" *Hartop*, which was reckoned in your for-
" mer, when there remained ſix hundred
" and thirty five Pound, but you know beſt,
" whether the Miſtake be in me. All the
" Noiſe that was made then of that hun-
" dred Pound upon the Death of Mr. *D.*
" was purely from the Indiſcretion of *Har-*
" *top*, who was very unreaſonable: I pray
" thank Mr. *Gr.* from me for his Care,
" which I doubt not he will continue; and
" therefore I ſhall refer the Ways of Re-
" turns to himſelf, which cannot be dif-
" ficult; and if he makes the Money pay-
" able to *Jaques de la Haye*, and ſends the
" Bills by the Way Mr. *Thornton* knows, to
" the Chancellor, I ſhall be juſtly comply-
" ed with. He that propoſed that Method
" for Returns to me, was not enough ac-
" quainted with the Streights I am in, which
" I wiſh were truly known to all my Friends,
" and the good Husbandry that is uſed in
" my Expence, in which God knows there
" is little Exceſs. I wiſh therefore that you
" would get all that remains to be returned

" together, and whatſoever ſhall hereafter " by your Induſtry, and the Affection and " Diligence of any other Friends be raiſed, " may be ſent over as ſoon as may be; which " will be moſt for my Benefit, and I hope " for their's. I thank you for the Account " you give me of the State of Affairs, which " I deſire you to continue, it being of great " Moment. And now you will know my " Hand, which I am promiſed ſhall come " ſafe to you, I ſhall not hereafter ſubſcribe " the Name of

Your affectionate Friend

Superſcrib'd B. Charles R.

From that Concern the King here expreſſeth about a few hundred Pounds, may be ſeen into what narrow Circumſtances the Majeſty and future Glory of the *Britiſh* Nation was then reduced.

This Letter of the King's was written full three Months after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, into whoſe Place that Uſurper's Council had promoted his Son *Richard*, not without the great Diſguſt of many of the chief Commanders of the Army. *Richard* was by no Means able to ſupport the Government,

Government, which his Father had obtained by Treachery: For he was very different from his Father, being a Perſon of great Candor and Simplicity, but at the ſame Time very weak and cowardly; ſo that he ſeemed to have neither Virtues nor Vices ſufficient long to ſuſtain ſo envied a Burthen. Therefore the King's Friends look'd upon this as a very favourable Conjuncture, (now they perceived the Conſervators of the Uſurpation were like to have a warm Contention among themſelves, who ſhould have the largeſt Share of *Cromwell*'s Spoils) to animate their Conteſts all they could, and ſpread the Flames of their Diviſions wider, holding themſelves always in readineſs to take all Advantages from theſe Contentions of the Rebels, to promote the King's Intereſt. Among theſe one of the chief was that honourable *Welch* Gentleman Sir *Thomas Middleton* abovementioned, concerning whoſe Readineſs on this Occaſion Mr. *Barwick* had acquainted the King by Letter; to which his Majeſty condeſcended to return the following Anſwer, dated, *Bruſſels June* 2, 1659.

" I have your's of the 16th, and when I
" read it, I aſſure you, I needed not to ask
" any Queſtion, but very well underſtood,
" who the Perſon was, though the honeſt
" Bearer afterwards mentioned him to me:
" I have never been without Thoughts of
" him, and of the Uſe he would be to me,
" and longed very much for an Opportu-
" nity of ſending to him, which I thank
" you for having given me, and I deſire the in-
" cloſed Letter may be given to him, and that
" I may know his Anſwer as ſoon as may be,
" and in what Friends he is moſt confident,
" and willing to join with, which will make
" all Things the more eaſy: Concerning all
" other Matters I refer you to the Chancel-
" lor, who will return you my Acquittan-
" ces, and what elſe is neceſſary; and I hope
" the Time is at Hand, in which I ſhall
" Reward the many good Services you have
" done for

Your affectionate Friend,

Superſcrib'd B. Charles R.

The King had a very juſt Regard for the Reputation and Intereſt of Sir *Thomas Middleton*,

dleton, as well as for his Zeal to promote his Service, being ſecure enough, under a General of ſo much Experience and Authority, not to want the ready Obedience of his Neighbours in *Wales*, who had ſeldom revolted from their Duty: And his Majeſty knew, that this Gentleman was both heartily returned to his Faith and Allegiance to his Sovereign, and had been fully inſtructed, by Mr. *Barwick* and other Clergymen of the Church of *England*, in the wholſome Precepts of that Church, which teaches the moſt religious Regard to be always paid to the Royal Dignity. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with his eldeſt Son and his two Sons-in-Law, Sir *Wynn*, and Sir *Groſvenour*, the Lord *Herbert* [t] of *Chirbury*, and other

[t] *Edward* the third Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury*, and of *Caſtl Iſland*, Son of *Richard*, and Grandſon of *Edward* the firſt Lord, who being deſcended from the Earls of *Pembroke*, and a Gentleman of Letters and great Accompliſhments, was made Knight of the *Bath* at the Coronation of King *James* the Firſt, employed as his Ambaſſador in *France* above five Years, and thereupon advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of *Ireland*, by the Name of Lord *Herbert* of *Caſtle Iſland* (alias Caſtle of the Iſland of *Kerry*) by Letters Patents dated 31 *Dec.* 22 *Jac.* and afterwards created a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury* in *Shropſhire* on the 7th of *May*, in the fifth Year of King *Charles* the Firſt. That noble Lord was the celebrated Author of the Life and Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth

other Gentlemen, were all ready and prepared, only waiting Orders from his Majeſty. Nor was Colonel *Venables* abovementioned (who lived in the neighbouring County of *Cheſter*, and had been formerly turned out by *Cromwell*) like to be wanting to any brave Attempt; for which Purpoſe, as Occaſion offered, he received Intelligence concerning the King's Affairs from his Friend Mr. *Barwick:* For this Gentleman had a conſiderable Time employed his Endeavours privately for the King's Service, at the Inſtance of ſome of his deareſt Friends, whom (as has been ſaid) the Lady *Savile*, ever moſt zealous for his Majeſty's Intereſt, had found Means to engage in that Work; for ſhe had heard it whiſpered, that Colonel *Venables* was much affected with the barbarous Murther of the Royal Martyr, and was too generous an Enemy, not to lament

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as well as of ſeveral other Books: His eldeſt Son *Richard* having in his Father's Life Time been the great Supporter of the Royal Cauſe in *Wales*, during the Troubles of King *Charles* the Firſt, on his Father's Deceaſe, not long before the King's Murther, ſucceeded to the Honour, *Auguſt* 5. 1648, and dying himſelf *May* 13. 1655, left this Lord *Edward* the Heir of his Honours, as well as of his Loyalty; who together with his valiant Brother *Henry*, and a great Number of his Kindred and Family, intended to have riſen for King *Charles* the Second in *Shropſhire*, *Anno* 1659, but being there betrayed, joined with Sir *George Booth* in his Deſign, equally glorious, but alas! equally unſucceſsful. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 261, 262.

his

his untimely End. Nor were his Sighs upon this ſad Occaſion, as carefully as he endeavoured to conceal them, ſo far ſmothered within his own Breaſt, as to eſcape the Jealouſy and Sagacity of *Cromwell*; who as a Mark of his pretended Favour, but in reality to remove as far off as he could a Perſon of whom he was afraid, reſolved to give this Gentleman the Command of thoſe Forces he had raiſed for the Expedition into *America:* But Colonel *Venables*, who was no Stranger to *Cromwell*'s Artifice, and knew very well, that the greateſt Part of the Forces he was to command, ſufficiently hated the Uſurpation, had determined by their Aſſiſtance to dethrone the Tyrant, and reſtore the King. Nor indeed had this glorious Deſign failed of Succeſs, if the auxiliary Troops appointed to be in Readineſs to ſecond ſo noble an Enterprize, had not been betrayed by a moſt perfidious [a] Wretch, with whom his Majeſty about that Time had entruſted all his Affairs: For *Cromwell* having got ſome Notice of this Deſign, before the Day appointed for the Execution of

[a] Sir *Richard Willis*, of whom and his Treachery ſee an Account, *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B.* xvi. p. 668, &c. *Echard's Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *B.* iii. p. 727.

it,

it, ſends *Desborough* all on a ſudden to Colonel *Venables* in the dead of the Night, who raiſes him out of his Sleep, and[w] commands him to march immediately with all his Forces from *London* towards *Portſmouth*: By which Means this noble Deſign was for that Time interrupted. But Colonel *Venables*, by his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, who was privy to it, and had his Share therein, now again offers his Duty and Service to his Majeſty.

Mr. *Barwick* relying on the great Sedulity and Induſtry of his Friend Mr. *Otway*, did not much doubt, but that both Colonel *Redman* in *Ireland*, and eſpecially Colonel *Clobery* in *Scotland*, would on the firſt favourable Opportunity readily employ their Endeavours for the King's Service: But ſeeing that the latter ſerved under the Command of General *Monk*, afterwards the moſt illuſtrious Duke of *Albermarle*, the former under that of *Henry Cromwell*; the Matter ſeemed very difficult, and full of Danger,

[w] This was in the beginning of the Year 1655. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. p. 576. where you may ſee an Account of his Expedition, and the ill Succeſs of it, on which he and *Pen* at their Return were put into the *Tower*.

I may

I may add, nor like to be of any Service to his Majeſty, nor as they imagined, either honeſt or decent; unleſs their reſpective Generals, under whom they commanded, and by whoſe Favour they had been advanced to ſuch conſiderable Poſts in the Army, were themſelves firſt brought over to the King's ſide, or at leaſt heartily invited to it. But *Henry Cromwell*, to his no little Loſs and Diſreputation, tamely yielding about this Time to the ſworn Enemies of the Crown in *Ireland*, as well as to his falſe and perfidious Friends, as his Brother *Richard* had lately done in *England*, Colonel *Redman*'s Deſign, who was alſo turned out with his General, ſeemed to be render'd impracticable for the preſent; yet he ſtill entertained Hopes of being able to ſerve the King, when a more convenient Opportunity ſhould offer. But Mr. *Barwick* by his Majeſty's Direction deſired Mr. *Otway* to lay aſide all Thoughts of the Affair in *Ireland* for ſome Time, and take a Journey into *Scotland*, and prevail with his Brother-in-Law Colonel *Clobery*[x] to endeavour by all Means poſſible

[x] To whom his Majeſty wrote a Letter ſome Time after, to be

ble to bring over his General to the King's Intereſt, to which no Acceſſion could be of greater Importance, and with whom the great Opinion the General had of *Clobery*'s Courage, Prudence, and Fidelity, had given him no little Credit. Mr. *Otway* moſt willingly undertakes the Buſineſs, and reſolves to perform the Journey at his own Charges; and Mr. *Barwick* acquaints the King by Letter of his Friend Mr. *Otway*'s great readineſs to ſerve his Majeſty in this Matter, and at the ſame Time moſt humbly begs, that his Majeſty would ſend a Letter to General *Monk* by ſome faithful diſcreet Perſon, of Intereſt and Weight with him, that after ſo powerful an Application he might yield with leſs Difficulty to the Importunity of Colonel *Clobery* and others: For a Work of this Importance was not likely to be effected either by one Man, or in one Day, though the Perſon that ſhould undertake it were backed with never ſo much

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be delivered by Mr. *Otway*, as appears from another Letter alſo written upon that Occaſion to Mr. *Otway*, publiſhed in the *Appendix* N°. xx. from the Original, all in his Majeſty's own Hand, a Copy whereof was moſt obligingly communicated to me by *Brathwaite Otway*, Eſq; of *Grey's-Inn*, the worthy Son of that loyal Gentleman.

Authority

Authority from the King. The Pains Mr. *Barwick* took to procure the Services of Colonel *Venables*, Colonel *Clobery*, and Colonel *Redman*, Perſons of ſo much Note, and of ſuch Experience in military Affairs, his Majeſty in another Letter, all written in his own Hand, was graciouſly pleaſed to acknowledge; intimating likewiſe, that in Compliance with Mr. *Barwick's* Advice, he would write to General *Monk*. His Majeſty's Letter was in theſe Words:

Bruſſels June 12, 1659.

" I have received your's, and am very " glad that you have ſo much Confidence " in one of the Perſons, and ſo reaſonable " Hope of the other; I will do the beſt I " can to diſpoſe the third Perſon, and to " proceed in the Way you direct, but I " am not ſure of Succeſs that Way, and " I therefore deſire you to uſe your utmoſt " Endeavour with your Friend, that *R.* " may take the Matter to Heart, and im- " prove all Occaſions; and you may pro- " miſe him, that I will recompence him " and his Friends in ſuch a Way as ſhall " well ſatisfy him and them: Encourage " your other Friend to proceed with *C.*

" and if he will undertake the Buſineſs, he " ſhall be fully ſatisfied in the manner you " propoſe; and if I once know what he " will do, and what he expects, I will " give him all the Aſſurance I can, and I " doubt not ſuch as will content him, if " he be real, both with Reference to him- " ſelf and his Friends, and I deſire your " Friend would ſpeak with him as ſoon as " may be. Concerning *V.* what he ſays is " ſo reaſonable, that I muſt leave him to " his own Diſcretion, both for the Matter " and the Manner, and am well pleaſed " that he continues with the ſame Reſolu- " tion. *I am*

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

For the Point Mr. *Barwick* ſolicited was, that thoſe brave Men ſo much renowned in War, wherein they had formerly ſerved the Enemy with too much Succeſs, ſhould now at laſt all repent (as ſome of them had privately done before) and hold themſelves in readineſs, while yet unſuſpected, to join their

their Forces with the Royaliſts, [y] who had concerted a general Riſing for the Deliverance of their Country on the firſt of *Auguſt* following.

In the mean Time the King employs his Thoughts to find out ſome fit Perſon to be ſent privately with his Commands to General *Monk*, and at laſt makes choice of Sir [z] *John Greenville*, Bart. afterwards the Right Honourable the Earl of *Bath*, to whom

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[y] Dr. *Price*, General *Monk*'s Chaplain, tells us, that Sir *George Booth* (afterwards Lord *De la Mere*) *undertook for* Cheſhire *and the Counties adjacent*; *Sir* Thomas Middleton *for North* Wales, *Major General* Maſſy *for* Glouceſter *and South* Wales; *the Lord* Fairfax *for the North*; *the Lord* Roberts (*afterwards Earl of* Radnor *and Preſident of the Council*) *for the Weſt*; *Colonel* Alexander Popham, *and Colonel* Robert Rolles *for* Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, *and* Devonſhire; *Colonel* Norton *for* Portſmouth *and* Hantſhire, *and Sir* Horatio, *afterwards Lord Viſcount* Townſhende *for the aſſociated Counties, and diverſe others in all Places throughout* England. Myſt. and Method of his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, p. 4.

[z] Son and Heir to the renowned Sir *Bevil Greenville*, Bart. a Gentleman of a very antient Family in *Devonſhire*, who having at his own Charge raiſed a Troop of Horſe, *Anno* 1638, and therewith attended King *Charles* the Firſt againſt the Rebels in *Scotland*, and being afterwards Knight of the Shire for *Cornwall* in the Long Parliament, when the Rebellion broke out in *England*, led the *Corniſh* Men againſt the Rebels of *Devonſhire* and the adjacent Counties, and obtaining many ſignal Victories over them, particularly at *Bodmyn*, *Lanceſton*, and *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, and at *Lanſdown* in *Somerſetſhire*, bravely loſt his Life in that laſt great Battel, whereupon this his Son Sir *John* (though then but fifteen Years of Age) firſt headed his Father's own Regiment, and ſoon after became Commander in chief of five others, engaged in all the conſiderable Actions

whom he ſends a Letter with one encloſed to the General then commanding in *Scotland*, to be carried to him either by Sir *John* himſelf, or by any other diſcreet Perſon in the King's Intereſt, but not ſuſpected by the too watchful Enemy; for ſuch a one would diſcharge the Truſt both more acceptably to the General, and with greater Probability of Succeſs. Sir *John* found out one that ſeemed altogether equal to this Employment, Mr. [a] *Nicholas Monk*, the General's many

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in the Weſt, and alſo in the ſecond *Newbury* Fight, wherein he received many dangerous Wounds. Afterwards attending King *Charles* the Second in his Exile, as one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, in Reward of all thoſe great Services, and for his bravely defending the *Scilly* Iſlands (of which he was Governor) againſt no leſs than fifty Ships of the Rebels, and particularly for the noble Share he had, with his Kinſman General *Monk*, in his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, he was by Letters Patents bearing date at *Weſtminſter* 20 *April*, 13 *Car.* 2. made Lord *Greenville* of *Kilkhampton* and *Biddiford*, Viſcount *Greenville* of *Lanſdown*, and Earl of *Bath*, being at that Time chief Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber, and Warden of the Stanneries in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 479, 480. *Skinner's Life of General* Monk, p. 95, &c. From the Victory of *Stratton* abovementioned, two of the great Commanders that ſhared in it were ſucceſſively created Barons of *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *John Berkley*, on the Honour's being extinct at Lord *Hopton's* Death, which I mention to rectify a Miſtake in the late Edition of *Camden's Britannia*, p. 87. into which Mr. *Collier* had alſo fallen in his Tranſlation of *Moreri's* Dictionary, but has corrected it, in his Supplement to that Work.

[a] Younger Son of Sir *Thomas Monk* of *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire*,

own Brother, then a venerable Presbyter of the Church of *England*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, a Perſon of great Wiſdom and Integrity. For what Man upon Earth would the General more probably, or could he more ſafely admit into the moſt ſecret Purpoſes of his Heart, than his own Brother, throughly known, and upon many Accounts moſt dear to him? The General, I ſay, who was the moſt cautious Man living, and the moſt careful and vigilant to guard againſt the Envy and Jealouſy of the Fanatick Rulers in *England*, to which he was ſo obnoxious. And it was thought a ſufficient Pretence for Mr. *Monk*'s Journey, and what could leave no room for the leaſt Suſpicion, that having not ſeen his deareſt Brother now for ſome Years, and after various Hazards and Dangers of War, he was deſirous to make him a Viſit,

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ſhire, admitted in *Wadham* College in *Oxford* at the Age of ſeventeen, *Anno* 1626, proceeded in Arts *Anno* 1634, enjoyed a little Cure in *Devon* by the Intereſt of the General his Brother, was perſecuted by *Oliver*'s Triers, but afterwards preſented to the Rectory of *Kilkhampton* in *Cornwall* by his Kinſman Sir *John Greenville*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, by whoſe Intereſt and his Brother's he was in *June* 1660 made Provoſt of *Eaton*, *Aug.* 1. following created Doctor of Divinity, and *January* 6. 1660-1 conſecrated Biſhop of *Hereford*, and died *December* 17. 1661. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 660, 661. *Faſti* p. 811.

and alſo to conſult with him about the Diſpoſal of his Daughter in Marriage [b]. Nor indeed, as the Times then were, could the General have ſafely admitted, ſo much as to diſcourſe with him, any other Perſon from *England*, and a Stranger to his Army, beſides his Brother, though he had entered never ſo heartily into that glorious Undertaking, to which he was invited; eſpecially if he deſired to bring about a Matter of ſo great Difficulty and ſuch mighty Importance, as he afterwards did, without the Effuſion of Blood. His Majeſty's Letter [c] to General *Monk*, dated *July* 21ſt, 1659, was in theſe Terms.

SIR,

"I cannot think you wiſh me ill, nor "have you Reaſon to do ſo; and the Good "I expect from you, will bring ſo great a "Benefit to your Country and to your ſelf, "that I cannot think you will decline my "Intereſt. The Perſon who gives, or ſends

[b] A Match being then propoſed for her with a Gentleman of their own Country, and ſhe then reſiding with her Uncle the General at *Dalkeith*. *Skinner's Life of General* Monk, p. 104, 105.

[c] See *Skinner's ibid.* p. 103.

"this

" this to you, has Authority to ſay much
" more to you from me: And if you once
" reſolve to take my Intereſt to heart, I
" will leave the Way and Manner of de-
" claring it entirely to your Judgment, and
" will comply with the Advice you ſhall
" give me; the reſt I refer to the Perſon
" that conveys this to you. It is in your
" Power to make me as kind to you as
" you can deſire, and to have me always

Your affectionate Friend,

C. R.

Mr. *Otway* had not been long arrived at his Brother-in-Law Colonel *Clobery*'s Quarters in *Edinburgh*, on Pretence of making him a Viſit, before Mr. *Monk* got into *Scotland*. And now at laſt there began to appear ſome glimmering Hopes, though yet very obſcure, that the General of the *Scotch* Army might by thoſe two Agents, his Brother *Nicholas*, and Colonel *Clobery*, an Officer of ſo much Credit with him, be drawn over to the King's Intereſt, to which it may be he was of his own Accord inclinable enough, if a favourable Opportunity ſhould

offer. Nor is there any doubt but theſe two Gentlemen took all Occaſions, each of them, by all that was Good and Holy, and particularly by the ſacred Aſhes of the Royal Martyr, to implore the Faith and Allegiance of that illuſtrious Perſon, that he would deliver his deareſt Country from the brain-ſick Outrage of Enthuſiaſts, and reſtore the King's Son, now baniſhed from his Palace, to his Father's Throne, which was due to him by all the Laws of God and Man. Beſides theſe two excellent Perſons, I ſuppoſe there were many others, in whom General *Monk* placed great Confidence, and who about this Time, or at leaſt afterwards, uſed their Endeavours to bring him over to the King's ſide, particularly Mr. *Thomas Clarges* [b], Brother to the General's

[b] Dr. *Skinner* informs us, that on *May* 5, 1660, the Addreſs from the Army, together with the General's (*Monk's*) Letter, was ſent to his Majeſty by Commiſſary *Clarges*; and that his Majeſty had before received an Account of this Gentleman, and of the Service he had rendered him, by his conſtant and faithful Correſpondence with General *Monk*, in order to his Reſtoration: So that he entertained him with a particular Kindneſs, and preſently Knighted him, being the firſt Perſon who received (and deſervedly) any Title or Mark of Honour from his Majeſty upon this Service. *Life of General Monk*, p. 336, 337. in which as well as in Dr. *Price*'s and Dr. *Gumble*'s Life of that great Man, you have a farther Account what was done for

General's Lady, and Colonel *Ralph* [c] *Knight*, one of the chief Officers of the *Scotch* Army; for I find both their Names written in Mr. *Barwick*'s Cypher; and they are both, as well as Colonel *Clobery*, known to have been afterwards rewarded with Titles of Honour, and other Marks of Royal Favour by their munificent Prince. But though I am not ſufficiently appriz'd, what was done for the King's Service by each of theſe Gentlemen particularly, or any other of the *Scotch* Army, while theſe Matters were tranſacting; yet it abundantly appears from Letters of undoubted Authority, that whatever belonged to Mr. *Barwick*'s Province, whether in *England*, in *Wales*, or in *Ireland*, but particularly in *Scotland*, was always diſcharged by him with the ſtricteſt Conformity to his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, of which the Chancellor gives a very honourable Teſtimony in a Letter written

for the King's Service both by Sir *Thomas Clarges* and Sir *Ralph Knight*.

[c] Colonel of Horſe, whereof the General having had only four Regiments, he muſt have been conſiderable. Dr. *Gumble* ſtiles him Sir *Ralph Knight*. *Life of General Monk*, p. 187, 192. though I preſume he was not Knighted till after the Reſtoration. See more of him in the Continuation of *Baker*'s Chronicle, p. 719.

to him, dated *July* 8, 1659. which begins with the Paragraph following.

SIR,

" I have received your's of the 20th of " the laſt Month, which is exceedingly ſatiſ- " factory to the King in all Particulars. His " Majeſty forbears to write himſelf, having " nothing to add to what he hath formerly " ſaid, and cannot wiſh the Buſineſs, with " Reference to the ſeveral Perſons, in a bet- " ter Way than you have put it; only he " deſires, that as frequently as you meet with " fit Opportunities, you will advertiſe him " of the Progreſs you make: And the " Truth is, he is not better pleas'd with " the general Account of Affairs from " any body, than what you write. *Ap-* " *pend.* N°. ix.

While theſe Things were upon the Anvil, Mr. *Barwick* was again called upon to intermix his Negotiations for the State with the Affairs of the Church, in which he ſeemed to act, as in a Province belonging to him by a better Right, and was as aſſiduous in the Diſcharge thereof, as if he had been abſolutely at Liberty from all other

ther Buſineſs. After that lamentable Defeat at *Worceſter*, the Church of *England*, which lay before in a very diſmal and deplorable Eſtate, began now to be altogether deſperate: For what could ſhe do, now after that fatal Overthrow, deſtitute of all Hope of that Advantage ſhe expected from the King's Protection? Or if there remained any Proſpect of the Monarchy's being ever reſtored, it was at ſo great a diſtance, and ſo hard to be diſcovered, that there was Reaſon to fear at leaſt, that before the Reſtoration could be brought about, all the Diſcipline of the Church, and the ſettled accuſtomed Order of worſhipping God, would, even among ſuch as were Enemies to Schiſm, be utterly loſt, and ſunk into Confuſion. Beſides, the few Biſhops that were yet living, being almoſt worn out with bad Times and old Age, were not like to ſurvive much longer: Nor was it eaſy for thoſe who yet ſurviv'd, to ſubſtitute others in the room of ſuch as were deceas'd, having more than one Obſtruction to hinder them. And if the Epiſcopal Order ſhould fail, together with the Biſhops themſelves, who were now fetching as it were their laſt Breath, and conſequently the whole

Frame of the Church at once fall in ſunder, there ſeemed hardly to be the leaſt Glimpſe of Hope remaining, that the Church of *England* could ever afterward be reſtored; ſince there were none of the neighbouring Churches, in which that Primitive and Apoſtolical Order was ſtill preſerved, but what was too much an Enemy to our Reformation, to give us a new Succeſſion of Biſhops, without obtruding upon us at the ſame Time all the Innovations admitted into the Church in the Ages of her Corruption. Of ſo little Moment it was to have proved (as was obſerved above) that the Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Church of *England* had continued uninterrupted from the beginning, if now at laſt it ſhould come to an end in the midſt of our civil Diſſentions. It ſeemed therefore altogether neceſſary to ſecure the Church in theſe two Particulars: One, leſt being ſhaken by Storms of Perſecution ſhe ſhould bear no Fruit on her Branches: The other, leſt ſhe ſhould wither in her very Root, of which in a few Years there was great Danger. To ſecure theſe two Points was a Work of no little Difficulty: For the Biſhops, what with their great Age and little Health, and the Impri-

ſonment of one of the ableſt Heads among them, as well as one of the ſtouteſt Hearts, Dr. *Wrenn*, Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and perhaps the Indolence and Puſillanimity of [d] one or two of the reſt, were very much hindered in the Proſecution of this Work; inſomuch that it was almoſt impoſſible for them in thoſe difficult Times to conſult together what was fit to be done. But they gave Inſtructions to Mr. *Barwick*, not only to ride about among them all, and by propoſing and explaining to each of them what was thought for the Church's Service, to collect the Opinions and Reſolutions of every one of them upon all difficult Affairs, but alſo to procure the Communication of all that was needful between their Lordſhips and his Majeſty, which he frequently did by Letters written in Characters. Sometimes alſo Mr. [e] *Richard Alleſtrey* of *Oxford*, a Man

[d] Dr. *Brownrigg* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Skinner* Biſhop of *Oxford*, both complained of on this Occaſion a little below.

[e] He was admitted Commoner of Chriſt Church in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Richard Buſby* *Anno* 1636, at the Age of fifteen, and half a Year after made Student of that Houſe. In 1642 he took Arms for the King under Sir *John Byron*, and bore a Muſket among the Scholars of *Oxford* Gariſon. He proceeded Maſter of Arts *Anno* 1643, and was a noted

a Man of extraordinary Learning and Piety, was let into a dangerous Share of this Negotiation, being ſent to *Bruſſels* to do that by Word of Mouth, which could not ſo conveniently be done by Letter. The Decay of Church Diſcipline, and the Neglect of God's Worſhip ſeemed to require the particular Care of thoſe, who had the Management of theſe Affairs at Heart. But ſeeing there was no ſufficient Remedy to be provided againſt theſe Evils, but in a full Synod of Biſhops, the firſt Thing to be done was to conſecrate new Biſhops in

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ted Tutor in Chriſt Church, till ejected by the Parliament-Viſitors: After which he was entertained as Chaplain by *Francis Newport*, Eſq; (afterwards Lord *Newport*) till *Worceſter* Fight; after which he attended the King at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, and brought his Diſpatches into *England*. Then he lived privately in *Oxford* with Mr. *John Dolben*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and Mr. *John Fell*, afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Chriſt Church*, who officiated to the Loyaliſts there in the Service of the Church of *England*; and being thence invited to Sir *Anthony Cope*'s at *Hanwell*, continued there many Years, making ſeveral Excurſions on the King's Affairs, till taken at *Dover* in the Winter 1659, he was kept Priſoner in *Lambeth*-Houſe, untill the Reſtoration approached, on which *Anno* 1660, he was made Canon of *Chriſt Church*, ſoon after which he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and was choſen one of the Lecturers of *Oxford*. *Anno* 1663 (being then one of the King's Chaplains) he was made *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity there, and *Anno* 1665, Provoſt of *Eaton*. He died *January* 28, 1680. *A. Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 505, 506. See his Life by Dr. *Fell* in the Preface to his forty Sermons.

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the room of thoſe that were dead, many of the Sees being then vacant. It was no ſmall Hindrance to a Work of ſo great Difficulty, that Perſons fit for the Epiſcopal Office, and approv'd of by his Majeſty, could not be choſen after the accuſtomed Manner; becauſe the Chapters of the ſeveral Churches were every where almoſt either wholly extinguiſhed, or ſo diſturbed, that they could not meet in the Chapter-Houſe to make a regular Election. Some, to remove this Impediment, adviſ'd, that ſuch as were thought meet to be advanced to the Government of the Church, ſhould receive Impoſition of Hands from the Biſhops only upon the King's Nomination, omitting the Solemnity of an Election, in their Opinion of more Danger than Uſe; Thinking by this compendious Method they ſhould more conſult the Honour of the Royal Prerogative, and the Safety both of the Conſecrators and of the Conſecrated, (which was in the utmoſt Danger) than by all the tedious *Apparatus* of an Election: But that Method of making Biſhops was not eſteemed by the Clergy to be altogether ſo conformable to the Practice of the Church delivered down from the firſt Ages;

and they choſe rather to incur the utmoſt Dangers, than not pay all due Regard to the Laws of the Catholick Church, yet taking ſufficient Care in the mean Time (as was but juſt) that the Royal Prerogative ſhould ſuffer no Incroachment. For this Reaſon Mr. *Barwick*, in the Name of the Clergy, moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty, to grant the Biſhops his Commiſſion under the Broad Seal, to meet together in a Synod, and after the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church elect others by their unanimous Suffrage; for by this Method it was conceived, they ſhould moſt conveniently ſtop the Mouths of all ſorts of Adverſaries, who from every lighteſt Cauſe, and often even from mere Fictions, catched at an Occaſion to calumniate the Church in that ſad Day of her Calamity. Nor indeed did the King make any Difficulty to grant what Mr. *Barwick* requeſted, that no Violence might be offered to the Inſtitutions of the truly Catholick Church, which his Majeſty deſired by all Means ſhould be religiouſly regarded and obſerved (as was meet) by the Church of *England*. Nay, he did not only graciouſly favour this pious Undertaking, but promoted it with the utmoſt Zeal for God's

God's Honour; and if there happened to be any, to whom it appertained to forward this Work, who treated it with the leaſt Coldneſs and Indifference, his Majeſty, as the nurſing Father of the Church, thought it very proper by his Chancellor, a zealous Promoter thereof, to reprove their Backwardneſs, and ſpur them on to more Diligence [f]. And with what Application the great Miniſter of State diſcharged the Province his Majeſty appointed him in this Affair, and on the other hand with what unwearied Piety and Affection Mr. *Barwick* executed the Truſt on this behalf, committed to him by the Church, will more evi-

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[f] Dr. *King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in his Sermon preached at the Funeral of Biſhop *Duppa*, makes very honourable mention of *this great Care of his Majeſty to preſerve and ſupport the Church at that Time, when in his exil'd Condition* (as the Biſhop obſerves) *he could not well ſupport himſelf.* And ſince it is mentioned in no other Author, that I know of, but one or two, that had it from Dr. *Barwick*'s Manuſcript Letters, before they were publiſhed, it is much to be wondered, that my Lord *Clarendon*, who had himſelf ſo honourable a Share in that Negotiation, and could have given ſo good an Account of it from his own Knowledge, ſhould not in his Hiſtory have taken the leaſt Notice of a Tranſaction ſo much for the Honour, not only of the King his Maſter, but of himſelf. My Author on this Occaſion does Juſtice here, both to his Majeſty, and to his Lordſhip, as well as to his Brother, whoſe Life he writes.

dently

dently appear from thoſe [g] Letters which paſſed between them on this Occaſion: Some of the chief of them I would tranſlate into Latin, and ſubjoin to this Life, but that it would ſwell the Work too much. Out of the reſt I ſhall interſperſe here and there what may be ſufficient to illuſtrate the Hiſtory in Matters relating both to Church and State.

But when the firſt of *Auguſt* was now at hand, Sir *George* [h] *Booth*, Bart. of *Cheſhire* (advanced afterwards to the Honour of Lord *De la Mer*) took Arms with his Countrymen, as he had engaged, on the Day

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[g] Thoſe Letters and other original Papers relating to this Hiſtory, being repoſited by our Author in St. *John*'s College Library, together with his Manuſcript of this Life, I thought it proper to publiſh them in an *Appendix* thereto; and concluding they would be much more acceptable to the Reader, and of more Authority, in the Language wherein they were written, than in any Tranſlation, I publiſhed them in *Engliſh* (though in an Appendix to the Latin Life) as I have alſo in this, from the Originals.

[h] Of *Dunham* in the County of *Cheſter*, Bart. paternally deſcended from a very antient and knightly Family of that Name in thoſe Parts, and in *Lancaſhire*, and by Heirs Female from the *Maſſies* heretofore Barons of *Dunham*, as alſo from the *Montforts* and *Clintons*, honourable Families of this Realm: In Conſideration of this well-intended Service, he was by Letters Patents, bearing date at *Weſtminſter*, 20 *April* 13 *Car.* 2. made Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *De la Mer* of *Dunham-Maſſy*. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2 p. 481.

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agreed upon over all the Kingdom. With him *Charles* [i] Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and other Perſons of principal Note joined their auxiliary Forces with great Alacrity. But Colonel *Venables* lay concealed, waiting to ſurprize the Gariſon of *Cheſter* from the Enemies, if this Attempt ſhould ſucceed. But the reſt that were to join in this noble Undertaking, and lay in readineſs not only at *London* (where the whole Matter was concerted) but all over *England*, being betrayed by the incredible Perfidiouſneſs of a certain [k] Perſon, who was not only engaged in this Buſineſs, but in ſome Meaſure had the chief Direction of it, that *Cheſhire* Body of Men, compoſed of ſuch as were raw and unaccuſtomed to War, were eaſily routed by the Veteran Soldiers. After this Overthrow Mr. *Barwick* ſeems

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[i] Son of Earl *James*, that noble Champion for the Royal Cauſe, and of that invincible *Heroine* Counteſs *Charlotte*, Daughter to the Duke of *Tremouille*, by whom that illuſtrious Family is allied to moſt of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*. On the Murther of his Father by the Rebels, *Oct.* 15, 1651, he ſucceeded not only to his Honours, but to the Conſtancy and Loyalty of both his Parents. He died the 21ſt of *December* 1672. (*Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2 *p.* 251, &c.) and was ſucceeded in their Turns by his two Sons *William-Richard-George* the late, and *James* the preſent Earl. *Brit. Compend.* or *Rudiments of Honour*, Part 1. p. 79.

[k] Sir *Richard Willis*, See Note p. 185.

not

not to have written to the Chancellor till the 9th Day of *September*; on receipt of which Letter the Chancellor congratulates his Eſcape from the late Treachery in the following Anſwer.

SIR,

" I cannot expreſs the Satisfaction I re-
" ceived in receiving your's of the 9th of
" this Month, which is the only Letter I
" have had from you ſince the 25th of *July*:
" Nor have I, ſince the Noiſe of the late
" Diſaſters, ventured to write to you, not
" knowing where, or in what Condition
" you are. And I am very confident, ſome
" of mine, which were put into honeſt
" Hands, are yet upon the Way towards
" you, and will come ſafe at laſt, the Winds
" having for theſe two or three Months
" been nothing favourable to the Paſſengers
" from theſe Parts.

" I ſhall not trouble you nor my ſelf with
" diſcourſing upon the late Misfortunes and
" Miſadventures, of the Grounds whereof
" I am totally ignorant, more than what
" relates to the Treachery of one ill Man;
" and how that ſhould make ſo many Per-
" ſons fail in their Undertakings, I cannot

" comprehend.

" comprehend. It is a ſingular Comfort to
" me, and I am ſure will exceedingly pleaſe
" the King, that you retain the ſame Vi-
" gour of Mind, and are as intent as ever
" upon contriving all Expedients for the
" Advancement of his Service: And I am
" very ſure, his Majeſty will be very well
" pleaſed with what you propoſe concern-
" ing *Northamptonſhire*, which yields few
" Perſons of Value, with whom we have
" any Correſpondence. I doubt not, but I
" ſhall ſhortly ſend you a Letter to the
" Gentleman you mention; who if he be like
" his Grandfather, whoſe Name he bears,
" will be able to do more Good, than his
" Father did Hurt.

" I know very well, that the Clergy have
" a very great Intereſt in that Country. I
" wiſh you could aſſure me, that they are
" better diſpoſed, than they have heretofore
" been. You will uſe your Credit, to keep
" that Gentleman's Heart right; and you
" may with a good Conſcience ſay all
" Things of Acception and Kindneſs from
" the King to him; and that he ſhall
" ſhortly receive the Evidence of it from
" himſelf.

" I hope you do not diſcontinue your " Negotiation in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and " that the Perſons themſelves there are " firm to thoſe Principles, which they own- " ed to you; and then I doubt not, there " will come a good Seaſon for the Diſco- " very. I cannot imagine, that the other " Addreſs to *Monk* could in any Degree " interfere with the Deſign of your Friend, " which I conceive muſt be rather advan- " ced by it. I long very much to receive " the other Diſpatch you mention with " the Precedents; and I ſhall have an Op- " portunity by the ſame long Conveyance " within two or three Days to write again " to you, in which I ſhall enlarge upon " the Buſineſs of the Church, in which " you would think me the more imperti- " nent, if all I had writ were come to your " Hands. In the mean Time you muſt for- " give me to tell you, that I am deceived " if the Biſhop of *Oxford* make good his " Word, or if he be not leſs diſpoſed to it, " than moſt of the Function; and if he " does deceive me, I will ask his Pardon " heartily. I did write to you by the King's " Direction, that the Biſhop of *Ely* would " recommend a Perſon for *Carliſle*; and you

" need

" need not doubt his Majeſty's Approbati-
" on, that there be a Biſhop conſecrated for
" the *Iſle* of *Man*. I know not whether
" the Collation be in the Earl of *Derby*.

" I do beſeech you, that your next Let-
" ter may bring me an Aſſurance, that
" our worthy ſick Friend is perfectly re-
" covered, and that he is not too much
" caſt down upon the laſt Misfortunes. I
" muſt recommend honeſt *Grig. Palden* to
" your Care, that when you have any Mo-
" ney to diſpoſe of, he may receive twenty
" Pound. He is a very good Youth, and
" deſerves well from his Majeſty. If you
" ſee him, pray let him know, that I have
" received two or three Letters from him;
" but he gives me no Advice, how mine
" ſhould find him, which he ſhould do. I
" wiſh you all Happineſs, and am heartily,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

26. *Sept.* 1659. Hyde.

That Gentleman of *Northamptonſhire*, the offer of whoſe Service to the King the Chancellor congratulates in this Letter, was

Sir *Henry* [m] *Yelverton*, Bart. whoſe Education from his Childhood had been too much tinctured with the Presbyterian Religion, from the Errors of which he eaſily extricated himſelf, as ſoon as to that Probity of Mind, which he had to great Perfection, he

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[m] Of *Eaſton Manduit* in that County, his Family antient and honourable, living ſometime at *Rougham* in *Norfolk*. Sir *Chriſtopher*, Great Grandfather, I ſuppoſe, to this Gentleman, was ſometime one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench (*viz.* in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*) ſo was Sir *Henry* his Grandfather, after having been both Solicitor General and Attorney General, in the Reign of King *James*. See an Account of him in *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 463, 464. Of that Sir *Henry's* Son, *Robert*, whom I take to have been this Gentleman's Father, I find no Account but that ſevere Reflection upon him in the Chancellor's Letter, only that in the Regiſter of *Queen's* College in *Cambridge*, there is mention of *Robert Yelverton* of *Northamptonſhire*, admitted Fellow Commoner there, *Feb.* 26, 1618. But *Robert's* Brother, Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton*, was about the Time of his Father Sir *Henry's* Death (*viz. Anno* 1629.) one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas. (*Wood* ibid.) This Sir *Henry* was born at *Eaſton Manduit*, baptized there *July* 6, 1663, educated in St. *Paul's* School *London*, admitted Gentleman Commoner of *Wadham* College *Anno* 1650, where he made great Proficiency in Learning, and was excelled by none of his Time in the Knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages. Mr. *Wood* gives an account of ſeveral Pieces written and publiſhed by him (*Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 341.) He died in the Flower of his Age, *October* 3, 1670, and was interred with his Anceſtors at *Eaton Manduit*, leaving behind him by *Suſan* his Wife, ſole Daughter and Heir of *Charles* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Charles* his eldeſt Son, afterwards a Nobleman of Chriſt Church, and called up to the Houſe of Lords, where he took his Place as Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, and died of the Small-Pox unmarried *May* 17, 1679. *Wood ibid.* See alſo *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 1. p. 719. *Collins's Baronettage of England. Vol.* 2. p. 167, &c.

had

had added an extraordinary Degree of good Learning. In his Houſe about this Time, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the only Prelate of the Province of *York* then ſurviving, departed this Life to the no little Delay of the Church Affair, which was then in Hand. Sir *Henry* had invited this excellent Biſhop, in his extreme old Age and ill Health, to ſojourn with him, had done him all the good Offices in his Power, and having treated him as a Parent as long as he lived, buried him honourably when he was dead. Mr. *Barwick* attended his venerable Patron, and adminiſtred to him in his laſt Sickneſs, and preached a Funeral Sermon at his Exequies, which were attended with a great Concourſe of the Clergy and People of Condition. This Sermon, together with the holy Prelate's Life compoſed by him, he afterwards publiſhed, and dedicated it (as was intimated above) to the King. In the mean Time he wrote the following Epitaph inſcribed on his Tomb, wherein he ſeems to have brought into a narrow Compaſs the extenſive Materials of a very long and no leſs remarkable Life, and as it were in a ſmall Picture to have given the Reader no ill View of that great Man.

In Memoriâ ſacrâ,
Hic vivit uſque & uſque vivat
Exiguum etiam illud quod mortale fuit
Viri
Pietate, Literis,
Hoſpitalitate, Eleemoſynis
celeberrimi,
Reverendi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini
Thomæ Dunelmenſis Epiſcopi,
Eoque nomine Palatini Comitis,
Clarâ Mortonorum familiâ oriundi;
Quem
Richardo peperit Elizabetha Leedale,
Sexto de novendecim puerperio
Eboraci in lucem editum.

Quem
Collegium S. Johannis Evangeliſtæ
In Academiâ Cantabrigienſi perquam nobile
Alumnum fovit inſtructiſſimum,
Socium ambivit ſelectiſſimum,
Benefactorem ſenſit Munificentiſſimum,
Ornamentum perpetuo celebrabit ſingulare.

Quem
Eccleſia
Marſtonienſis, Alesfordienſis, Stopfordienſis
Rectorem ſedulum,
Eboracenſis
Canonicum pium,
Gloceſtrienſis, Wintonienſis
Decanum providum,
Ceſtrienſis,

In ſacred Memory,
Here ſtill ſurvives, and may here ſurvive ſtill
Even that little which was mortal
of a Man
For Piety, Learning,
Hoſpitality, and Alms moſt famous,
The Right Reverend Father of God
Thomas *Lord Biſhop of* Durham,
And in that Capacity Count Palatine,
Deſcended from the antient Family of
Morton,
Whom
Elizabeth, *of the Family of* Leedale,
Brought forth at York
The ſixth of nineteen Children,
To her Husband Richard Morton.
Whom
The famous College of St. John *the Evangeliſt*
In the Univerſity of Cambridge
Bred a very learned Scholar of the Houſe,
Choſe a moſt worthy Fellow,
Enjoyed a moſt munificent Benefactor,
And will always honour as a ſingular Ornament.
Whom
The Churches of
Marſton, Alesford, *and* Stopford,
Experienc'd a diligent Rector,
The Cathedral of York
A pious Canon,
Thoſe of Glouceſter *and* Wincheſter,
A Provident Dean,

Ceſtrienſis, Leichf. & Coventr. Dunelmenſis
Præſulem vigilantem
habuere.
Qui
Poſt plurimos pro ſanctâ Eccleſiâ Chriſti Catholicâ
Exantlatos labores,
Elucubrata volumina,
Toleratas afflictiones,
Diuturnâ (heu! nimium) Eccleſiæ procellâ
Hinc inde jactatus,
Huc demum appulſus,
Bonis exutus omnibus,
Bonâ præterquam famâ & conſcientiâ,
Tandem etiam & corpore,
Senex & cælebs,
Hic requieſcit in Domino,
Felicem præſtolans reſurrectionem,
Quam
Suo demum tempore
Bonus dabit Deus. Amen.
Nullo non dignus elogio,
Eò vero dignior,
Quòd nullo ſe dignum æſtimaverit.
Obiit
Craſtino Sancti Matthæi,
Sepultus feſto Sancti Michaelis,
Anno
Salutis M.DC.LIX. Ætatis XCV. Epiſcopatûs xliv.

Thoſe

Thoſe of Cheſter, Litchfield *and* Coventry,
and Durham
A vigilant Prelate.
Who
After very many Labours undergone,
Volumes written,
And Afflictions ſuffered
For Chriſt's holy Catholick Church,
In the Storm that lay upon her, too long alas!
Toſſed to and fro,
And at length driven hither,
Depriv'd of all his Goods,
Except a good Name, and a good Conſcience,
And at laſt alſo of his Body,
In a good old Age, and the State of Celibacy,
Reſts here in the Lord,
Expecting a happy Reſurrection,

Which
God will at laſt grant in his own Time; Amen.
Worthy of all Praiſe,
And ſo much the more,
As he eſteemed himſelf worthy of none.

He died [n]
The Day after the Feaſt of St. Matthew,
And was buried on that of St. Michael,
In the { 1659th / 95 / 44 } *Year of* { *Chriſt,* / *His Age,* / *His Conſecration.*

[n] At *Eaſton Manduit* in *Northamptonſhire. Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 732.

After

After the Death of this great Man there were only ten [o] Biſhops ſurviving, who were all deſirous to be thought equally concerned for the ruined State of the Church, but certainly did not all ſeem to labour with equal Fortitude and Conſtancy to raiſe her up and ſupport her: For there were two of them, the Biſhop of *Oxford* and the Biſhop of *Exeter*, who with I know not what little Objections ſomething retarded the moſt hearty Endeavours of the reſt. One of theſe you may ſee cenſured, or at leaſt ſuſpected in the Chancellor's laſt Letter [p]. But I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſay ſomething of them both. To theſe two, and to theſe only of all the Biſhops, the Liberty of preaching in Publick was indulged by thoſe who were then in Power, that they might ſeem forſooth to do ſome Credit to their ill

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[o] Dr. *William Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Brian Duppa* Biſhop of *Sarum*, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Oxford*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Matthew Wrenn* Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *John Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *William Roberts* Biſhop of *Bangor*, Dr. *William Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Henry King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Dr. *Accepted Frewen* Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of theſe ſoon after the Reſtoration Biſhop *Juxon* was tranſlated to *Canterbury*, Biſhop *Frewen* to *York*, Biſhop *Duppa* to *Wincheſter*, and Biſhop *Skinner* to *Worceſter*.

[p] Supra p. 210.

gotten

gotten Government by Acts that were not ill. And this perhaps was the Reaſon, that theſe venerable Perſons proſecuted the Buſineſs of the Church with leſs Application than was fit, leſt they ſhould ſeem to render themſelves unworthy of this Favour of the Uſurpers, and perhaps on that account ſuffer more ſeverely for having any Share in ſo good a Work.

After the Defeat of the Royaliſts in *Cheſhire*, Sir *Thomas Middleton* eſcaped ſafe to *London*. The Earl of *Derby* (for I mention thoſe only, with whom Mr. *Barwick* correſponded) unhappily fell into the Hands of the Rebels: But ſoon after had the good Fortune to make his Eſcape out of Priſon. Colonel *Venables* being not in the Action, watching an Opportunity (as was ſaid above) to perform his Duty in another Place, kept himſelf private, and perhaps not much ſuſpected. The King himſelf (who lay concealed in a diſguiſed Habit, with almoſt no Retinue, on the neighbouring Coaſt of *France*, to put himſelf at the Head of this Expedition, had it ſucceeded better) no ſooner heard of this Defeat, but croſſing all that Country, he went to the *Pyrenean* Mountains: For at that Time there was

an Interview there between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to compoſe the Differences between thoſe two Nations; and having both now made Peace according to their Deſire, they promiſed their Forces ſhould be ready to aſſiſt their Kinſman the King of *England*. In the mean Time General *Lambert*, who had commanded the Rebels Army in the late Victory, did not only lay waſte the Lands of the Royaliſts, who had bore Arms againſt him, and plundered their Houſes, but pulled down *Chirk* Caſtle, the noble Seat of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to the Ground: And then at laſt, elated with a Victory he thought ſo glorious, and become ſtronger with an Augmentation of Forces tranſported from *Ireland*, with an Arrogance not inferior to *Cromwell's*, he trampled upon the new Common-wealth, under which he had hitherto ſerved, and reſolved to march his Army againſt General *Monk*, whom he knew to be no Friend to his enormous Tyranny. But as his Majeſty was by no Means remiſs himſelf in negotiating his own Affairs with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*: So his honourable Chancellor ſeemed no leſs diligent in tranſacting with thoſe in *England*, what appertained to his

his Province. It is certain he preſſed Mr. *Barwick* in more [q] Letters than one, to ſolicite his Majeſty's Affairs in all the three Kingdoms, but particularly in *Scotland*, with all poſſible Diligence, and deſired he would procure, that it might be intimated to General *Monk* in the King's Name, that if he would freely and readily come over to his Majeſty's Intereſt, either the King himſelf, or one of his Royal Brothers ſhould join him with no inconſiderable Body of Men, before he could be forced to engage with the Enemy, who was much ſuperior to him in Number, and was like to give him Battel very ſoon. But General *Monk* ſtill concealed his Intentions with the utmoſt Secrecy and Reſerve, not admitting his moſt truſty Friend Colonel *Clobery*, nor even his own deareſt Brother into the deep Secrets of his Heart; and abſolutely declined receiving from his Majeſty either the Letter mentioned [r] above, or any other Meſſages whatever: For he learnt not only from the Falſhood of thoſe Enthuſiaſtick Officers that hitherto almoſt filled his Ar-

[q] See *Appendix* N°. xi, xiv, xvi, xvii, xix, xxvi, xxix, & ſup. *p.* 210.

[r] Page 194.

my,

my, and were throughly inſtructed in *Cromwell*'s Arts and Deceits, but alſo from the clancular Slyneſs of ſome, who deſired to be thought as much in the King's Intereſt as any, that no Mortal was to be truſted raſhly. However when almoſt every one elſe now deſpaired of the Royal Cauſe, Mr. *Otway* thought it one Indication at leaſt of the General's not wiſhing ill to it, that he made uſe of Colonel *Clobery*'s Aſſiſtance and Advice to purge the Army of all ſuch Officers, as he could not confide in; and did this the more willingly, becauſe he knew he was in the King's Intereſt. For the General had found him by Experience a Man exactly made after his own Mind, honeſt, ſilent, wary, and as well in Courage as in Counſel equal to thoſe arduous Affairs which his Excellence was undertaking: But the utmoſt he would promiſe to any Man living was, that he would oppoſe the ravaging Tyranny of ſome, who lay in wait to deſtroy the Liberty of the Commonwealth, and trampled upon the Authority of the Parliament. But as ſoon as he had in ſome Meaſure purged his Army of ſuſpected Officers, and put truſty Gariſons into the Places of moſt Strength in *Scotland*, being

ing now ſecure from behind, he thinks of marching towards *England.* But he ſends three Commiſſioners to *London* before him (of whom Colonel *Clobery* was the chief) furniſhed with Inſtructions, on pretence of making Peace with the Enemy, if it were poſſible; but in reality, that he might make a better Eſtimate of their Forces, and uſe his Endeavours to diminiſh them. Nor did this Deſign fail of Succeſs; for by this Artifice he did not only bring over to his Intereſt *Portſmouth*, a Town of great Strength, and moſt commodious for his Affairs; but Colonel *Clobery* alſo by this Means gained a convenient Opportunity both of converſing again with Mr. *Otway*, lately returned to *London* from *Scotland*, and likewiſe of conſulting with Colonel *Redman*, who lodg'd at Mr. *Otway*'s Houſe, and of concerting Meaſures almoſt daily both with him and his Friend Mr. *Barwick*. For the chief Point he had to manage with his Friend Colonel *Redman* was, that he would uſe his Endeavours to draw away from *Lambert*'s Army the *Iriſh* Forces, which had lately ſerved under him. Colonel *Redman* willingly promiſes to attempt this noble Enterprize, and cheerfully undertakes a Journey towards

Yorkſhire,

Yorkſhire, where thoſe Forces were then encamped, that he might give all the Help he could to General *Monk*, then entring into *England*. That noble Wing of the *Iriſh* Army had three Troops, of which Colonel *Redman* had the greateſt Hopes: He reſolved therefore to ſolicit the Revolt of theſe firſt. But theſe Troops no ſooner ſaw their former long deſired Colonel, but they bad their new Commanders *Axtel* and *Zanchy* ſhift for themſelves, openly proteſting, they would ſerve hereafter under none but Colonel *Redman:* And their Example was followed by the whole Wing, to the Number of fifteen hundred Horſe.

This Revolt of the *Iriſh* Auxiliaries, with ſome other Inconveniences which attended it, greatly enervated *Lambert*'s Forces, and broke their Courage, and alſo removed out of General *Monk*'s Way whatever could have obſtructed his March up to *London*, opening him a free Paſſage through all the Country; who addreſs him in his Way with Congratulations, not obſcurely intimating their Deſire to ſee their antient Laws and Government reſtored. But the General did not think it even yet ſafe to declare openly for the King; ſince many of thoſe, who

 were

were for reſtraining *Lambert*'s immoderate Ambition and Thirſt of Government, were yet not undeſervedly ſuſpected to have no Affection for his Majeſty. For to ſay nothing of thoſe, indeed no ſmall Number, who long poſſeſſed with I know not what Fanatick *Dæmon*, were endeavouring to throw every thing into Confuſion, and ſubmit all to the licentious Diſcretion of the Soldiers; there were ſome, who though willing to repent of what was paſt, yet imagined they had offended too heinouſly againſt the King, to be pardoned even by a Prince of his unparallel'd Mercy: And thoſe who had tranſgreſs'd perhaps leſs than the reſt, thought they had Reaſon to fear, leſt being hitherto enriched with the Spoils of the Crown, and of the King's Friends, they ſhould be obliged after his Majeſty's Reſtoration to make due Reſtitution both to him and them.

But although General *Monk* was ſufficiently apprized, that in all the Counties they were extreamly weary of the new Tyranny, and very well affected to the King, and were ſtanding as it were in readineſs to deliver their Country from that grievous Yoak: yet he thought it a Matter of no little Danger for them

to join Battel with the Veteran Soldiers; ſince though inſpired with the moſt generous Warmth and Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, and even far ſuperior in Number to their Enemies, yet they were moſt of them not much skill'd in War, and through the Treachery of ſome could not be eaſily drawn together into one Body. That he might not therefore ſeem to ſlight the Authority of the Parliament, which he had undertaken to defend, he was obliged to make ſhew of a great Readineſs to obey the Orders even of that ſcandalous *Rump* of a Houſe, which *Cromwell* formerly diſſolved, as like to be uſeleſs or troubleſome to him, after the King's Murther; and who had now taken Poſſeſſion of their Seats again, and uſurped not only the Authority of Parliament, but the Sovereignty. Their Commands, however invidious, he for ſome Time did not decline to execute, by their Order breaking down the Gates and Portcullices of the City of *London*; becauſe the Citizens had refuſed to pay their Duties and Cuſtoms with their uſual Readineſs. It was a very great Mortification to the Royaliſts, to ſee a Man, from whom they had promiſed themſelves ſuch great Things, now after he had

had conquered *Lambert* even without a Battel, to become a Tool to execute the Orders of the King's moſt inveterate Enemies, even thoſe who had deeply dyed their Hands in his Royal Father's Blood; and to give the Rebels no light Hopes, that he would be their Slave to do all their moſt deteſtable Drudgery. And now all the Subjects of *Britain* ſeemed to have ſubmitted their Necks to a more grievous Yoak than uſual; having all on a ſudden exchanged the ſingle Tyranny of *Cromwell* or *Lambert* alone, for one of a hundred Fold, that of a moſt cruel many-headed Monſter. Nor were all good Men more afflicted, than they were aſhamed, to ſee a Perſon of General *Monk*'s Dignity, inſtead of aſſerting their oppreſſed Liberty, as they hoped, meanly ſtoop of his own Accord to pay the vileſt and moſt ſlaviſh Service to the Tyranny of a few Wretches, loaded with the publick Hatred; he who with much leſs Envy might have taken the Government of the Commonwealth into his own Hands, if his incomparable Modeſty, joined with an equal Degree of Fortitude and Prudence, would have permitted. Indeed all the Friends of the Monarchy and antient Laws, were at that

Time ſeiz'd with ſo great Deſpair, that they expected nothing more from him, than an univerſal Devaſtation of all Things: Nay before Matters came to this Extremity, the King himſelf had no other Hope of bringing the General over to his Intereſt, beſides that alone, which was founded on Colonel *Clobery*'s Negotiation; as abundantly appears from a Letter of the Chancellor to Mr. *Barwick*, dated *Bruſſels January* 12, 1660, in which there are theſe Words.

—— "I ſend you herewith two Letters from the King to your two [1] Friends, "which is all that his Majeſty can think "of, in order to *Monk*. Since he knows "there is a Letter for him from the "King, and has no Mind to receive "it, he would have the ſame Shyneſs "or Perverſeneſs, if there were another "ſent, or any Meſſenger employed to "him.—— It is ſtrange he, nor any of his "Friends, ſhould not let the King know of "their Purpoſes, if indeed he has any good "Purpoſes towards his Service. The whole

[1] Colonel *Clobery* and Mr. *Otway*.

 "Dependance

" Dependance the King hath of any Good
" from him, is from your Negotiation; and
" therefore the Service cannot be valued e-
" nough: And I hope you will perſuade
" Mr. *Otway* to purſue it effectually. *Ap-*
" *pend.* N°. xix.

But when almoſt all Men ſtood aſtoniſhed at this moſt unworthy Servility of General *Monk*, Colonel *Clobery* would not permit his Friends Mr. *Otway* and Mr. *Barwick* to deſpair of good Times; telling them, it was incredible, that a Perſon of ſuch heroick Virtue, and ſo ſtudious of the Liberty of his Country, ſhould perpetually ſubmit to do the Drudgery of theſe Tyrants; and aſſuring them, that both the General himſelf, and almoſt all his inferior Officers had executed thoſe hateful Orders with great Reluctance of Mind; and for the Averſion they had ſhewed thereto, muſt hereafter pay dear, if in the mean Time the Uſurpers were not dethroned: Nor did he make any doubt, but the greater Part at leaſt of the common Soldiers (though otherwiſe unſettled in their Opinion, and hitherto divided among themſelves, which ſide to take; yet when by theſe Wretches they ſhould find

themſelves defrauded of their Pay) would ſoon return to their Duty, perceiving themſelves oppreſſed with the ſame Yoak of Slavery, under which all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms had now for a long Time groaned. Nor is it to be imagined, continues he, that General *Monk* is doing any thing elſe, but watching an Opportunity with more Eaſe to throw theſe Tyrants down headlong from that Precipice, which by their inſupportable Arrogance they have climb'd up, and make them the Inſtruments of their own Ruin.

But though Mr. *Barwick* had no Diſtruſt in Colonel *Clobery*, yet he labour'd in the Buſineſs he had undertaken with as much Application, as if he had hitherto only deceived himſelf with vain groundleſs Hopes: For he was not willing to ſeem wiſer than all other Men, who almoſt generally deſpaired of the Faith of the Soldiers: But as he left nothing unattempted among his Friends, whereby he might both learn himſelf, and inform the King, what General *Monk*'s Inclinations were; ſo he received his Majeſty's Commands, all written in his own Hand, almoſt every Week, and communicated them to many Perſons of chief Note both in the City and in the Country.

Country. Among thoſe who in the ſeveral Counties at that Time waited to receive his Majeſty's Orders from Mr. *Barwick*, were theſe honourable Gentlemen following, *viz.* *Charles* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Yelverton* of *Northamptonſhire*, Sir *Henry* [r] *Cholmley* of *Yorkſhire*, Colonel *Redman*, who by General *Monk*'s Direction had quarter'd in *Cheſhire* the *Iriſh* Forces abovementioned, and a Perſon never to be nam'd without Honour, the illuſtrious Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who by a Commiſſion under the King's Hand and Seal, dated from *Bruſſels* the 24th of *January* 1659, was conſtituted Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Forces in *North Wales*. There were alſo many

[r] Who though upon Sir *John Hotham*'s Refuſal to give the King Entrance into *Hull*, and his Majeſty's two Meſſages to the Parliament upon that Occaſion, he was one of the Committee ſent down by the Parliament to reſide at *York*, to obſerve the King's Motions, and encourage their Friends; and was the Perſon that preſented their Anſwer to thoſe Meſſages in writing to his Majeſty. (*Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 1. *B.* 5. *p.* 515.) yet afterwards he came over to the King's ſide, and was one of a very different Committee, *viz.* of that which was ſent by the *Healing Parliament* to the *Hague*, to invite King *Charles* the Second to return, and take Poſſeſſion of his three Kingdoms. (*Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B.* 16. *p.* 768.) His Affection to the Crown before this, and the great Services done by his Son, appear from the King's writing to the Father, mentioned in my Lord *Clarendon*'s Letter of *March* the 8th, 1660. Append. N°. xxvi. and from what his Lordſhip ſays of the Son, both in that and other Letters, *viz.* of *Jan.* 22. *Feb.* 20. and *Apr.* 2, the ſame Year. *Append.* N°. xxiv, xxv, xxviii.

Citizens of *London* of principal Note, who were very zealous Promoters of the King's Intereſt, and with whom Mr. *Barwick* and Mr. *William Rombald*, a Perſon of great Integrity, and who had deſerv'd very well of the Crown, concerted Meaſures almoſt every Day, and communicated the King's Pleaſure to them. Some of the chief of theſe his Majeſty by his Commiſſion appointed to preſide over all his Affairs in the City, and ſent them the Inſtructions following.

Inſtructions for our Commiſſioners within the City of London, *and the Liberties thereof.*

Charles R.

I. YOU ſhall meet together, as many as you can with Security, and after having read our Commiſſion, you ſhall in the firſt Place proceed to the chuſing of a Commander in Chief of all the Forces, which ſhall be raiſed for our Service within the ſaid City of *London*, and Liberties thereof; and ſhall then make choice of ſuch Perſons of Intereſt and Reputation, as you think fit to be Colonels of Horſe and Foot, and accordingly inſert the Names of the one and

and the other in thoſe Commiſſions which we have ſent to you; by vertue whereof the ſaid Perſons ſhall take the ſeveral Commands upon them, and be obey'd accordingly.

II. You ſhall draw as many Perſons of Intereſt and Quality as you can, to conſult with you, and to join with you in the Engagement for our Service: And you ſhall let them know the great Kindneſs we have for that City, and our Reſolution to uphold their Authority; and in renewing their Charter, to grant them all thoſe Privileges and Immunities, which they have enjoyed under any of our Royal Anceſtors; and that we will be very—— to enlarge the ſame in any new Conceſſions, which may advance their Honour, Wealth, and Happineſs; and that we deſire nothing more, than that we may owe our Reſtoration to the Courage and Affection of that City; and that they may wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiſs by them, ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles.

III. You ſhall uſe your utmoſt Induſtry and Dexterity, to draw off as many of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army to join with you for our Service, as may be wrought upon,

upon, by promiſing them their full Arrears, and ſuch other Rewards and Preferments, as may be in our Power to give; and we will make good whatever you ſhall undertake for us; and you ſhall, at the Time you think it fit, make Proclamation in our Name, of Pardon to all Perſons inhabiting or reſiding within the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, of all Treaſons, Felonies, and other Miſdemeanors, which in any Degree relate to the late Troubles, except only ſuch, who ſat upon, and condemned our Royal Father of bleſſed Memory to be murthered, and were Actors in the Execution of that odious Judgment: Provided that all ſuch Perſons,——are to have the Benefit of the ſaid Pardon, forbear farther to conſpire againſt us, and are forward and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to advance our Service.

IV. You ſhall uſe your utmoſt Endeavours, to prevent any unſeaſonable and raſh Attempts and Inſurrections: And as we do commit the whole modelling and forming the Deſign to you, or the major Part; ſo we do refer the timing it entirely to your Diſcretion; and do not expect, that you ſhall appear in it, till in your own Judgments

you think it practicable, and beſt for our Service.

V. You ſhall let thoſe Citizens of Intereſt, with whom you communicate, know, that we have ſo full a Reſolution to uphold and preſerve their Privileges and Rights in all Things, that if the preſent Lord Mayor can be wrought upon to ſerve us, or as ſoon as another ſhall be made choice of, who hath that Affection and Reſolution, as ſoon as he ſhall declare it, this our Commiſſion to you ſhall ceaſe; except he thinks it neceſſary to continue, for the better carrying on the Publick Service: And the entire Command of that Militia ſhall be in him: And all Perſons employed in it ſhall be obedient to his Orders. And if the Tower can be reduced, ſuch a Lieutenant ſhall be put into it, as he thinks fit, and makes choice of: And we do not wiſh a better Man poſſeſſed of that Command, than Major General *Browne*.

VI. You ſhall communicate with our Commiſſioners of the general Truſt, or with ſome of them in ſuch a manner, that they may be ready to give you ſome Aſſiſtance from the Neighbour Counties, as you may ſtand in need of, and to perform all other Offices,

Offices, which you think neceſſary for the better Advancement and carrying on of the Service; all of you in your ſeveral Stations, uſing all Means to ſuppreſs Factions and Animoſities among thoſe who wiſh us well, upon Titles and Superiority of Command; ſince we ſhall think our ſelf as much beholden (and in ſome Caſes and Circumſtances more) to thoſe who obey cheerfully, as to thoſe who ſhall command moſt ſucceſsfully.

C. R.

From this Specimen may be judged, what was the Eſtate of the *Britiſh* Kingdom at that Time. But the Church was in a worſe Condition: For the Kingdom could hardly die; whereas the Church could very eaſily; having very few Hands to ſupport it, and thoſe weak and languiſhing with old Age; though the Perſons had been ever ſo faithful to her, as it is certain ſome were not. For although his Majeſty, beyond almoſt all Expectation, ſhould be ſuddenly reſtored to his Throne, yet what Hopes was there of the Church, ſtill attack'd and undermin'd by the ſeveral Engines and Devices of ſo many Sects? Indeed the wiſeſt among thoſe, who

who had the Management of the Church Affair, were of Opinion, that it ought by all Means to be haſten'd, and the Epiſcopal Succeſſion provided for out of Hand: For they were afraid, leſt his Majeſty ſhould by the importunate Petitions of ſome, who encouraged the Faction under a fraudulent Pretence of compoſing Diſſentions, be ſolicited to yield, that nothing at all ſhould be done relating in any wiſe either to the Advantage or Diſadvantage of the Clergy, till Matters being more maturely weighed, ſome Expedient ſhould be thought on, by the common Conſent of all the diſagreeing Parties, to reconcile the different Opinions of them all; a Thing abſolutely impoſſible. If ſuch as favoured the Schiſm had been able to obtain this, they might eaſily have promiſed themſelves, that by the continual Doubts, which the Followers of the ſeveral Parties ſhould ſuggeſt, they might ſo long protract the Time, till all the Biſhops were dead, and the Church itſelf expir'd with them: And though his Majeſty was too much aware of their Frauds, to be impos'd upon by them; yet (what was hard enough) he might be loaded with the Envy of having refus'd to be deluded by thoſe ill Men's

Deceits,

Deceits, when they were ſo ſpecious. Theſe anxious Thoughts at this Time gave Mr. *Alleſtrey* and Mr. *Barwick* twice as much Buſineſs as they had before: Nor is it eaſy to ſay, how much this pious Deſign, not only approv'd, but zealouſly promoted by almoſt all the holy Order, was yet retarded by the unbecoming Timorouſneſs of one or two of them. The Number of thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to take care of the Government of the Church, began now to be leſſen'd: For after the Death of the Biſhop of *Durham*, three Months were not paſs'd, before the Biſhop of *Exeter*[t] died. He was eſteem'd indeed a Man of Gravity and Prudence, a good Orator, and a conſtant Preacher, and one that led a holy Life, as a private Man. And with theſe Virtues he was willing to be thought ſufficiently to have diſcharg'd the Duty of a good Biſhop: But certainly he may be juſtly cenſur'd, as not having proſecuted the publick Buſineſs of the Church with ſufficient Application; ſince in a Letter dated *January* 22d 1660, we find his Backwardneſs therein

[t] *Dec.* 7, 1659. See Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part* 2. *p.* 23, 24.

thus

thus reflected upon by the Chancellor: "I will not enlarge upon the Death of the "Biſhop of *Exeter*; becauſe I will charge "Mr. *Alleſtrey* with that Diſcourſe, in "which I can uſe no Patience. If that "Biſhop were long ſick, I would be glad "to hear, how he expreſs'd himſelf to thoſe "Friends who were about him, in thoſe "Particulars, in which he ſuffer'd in his "Reputation, of not being zealous for the "Church. *Append.* N°. xxiv.

For he was formerly that Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* above [u] mention'd, on whom it was incumbent at that Time with more Courage to have oppos'd the new Covenant of the Rebels; and now again in the Buſineſs of the Publick was either too negligent, or too cautious. The Biſhop of *Oxford* likewiſe fram'd I know not what [w] Excuſes, and thoſe very frivolous, to hinder the Work, raiſing little trifling Objections againſt the incomparable Dr. [x] *Hammond*,

[u] Page 16, and 41.

[w] See above p. 210, 218. and *Append.* N°. xxv.

[x] *Henry*, youngeſt Son of Dr. *John Hammond*, Phyſician to Prince *Henry*, born at *Chertſey* in *Surry*, *Auguſt* 26, 1605, nam'd at the Font by the Prince: Deſcended by his Mother from Dr.

mond, nominated by his Majeſty to the Biſhoprick

Dr. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, a great Inſtrument of the Reformation: Bred at *Eaton* School, and thence admitted of St. *Mary Magdalen*'s College in *Oxford* at the Age of thirteen, of which he was choſen *Demie*, *Auguſt* 26, 1605, proceeded A. B. the ſame Year, and A. M. *Anno* 1625, and *July* the 26th that Year was elected Fellow, at which Time being Natural Philoſophy-Lecturer, he ſpoke one of the two Funeral Orations on the Preſident Dr. *Langton*. *Anno* 1629 he went into holy Orders, and ſupplying one of Dr. *Frewen* the then Preſident's Courſes at Court *Anno* 1633, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſo affected with his Sermon, that he immediately gave him the Rectory of *Penſehurſt* then void, to which he was inducted *Auguſt* the 22d that Year, where he had Prayers daily, and twice on *Saturdays* and *Holy-days*, and a Sacrament every Month, from the Offertory providing for the Poor of the Pariſh, and raiſing a Fund for apprentiſing poor Children, *&c.* In 1639 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and was about the ſame Time choſen a Member of the Convocation which ſat with the ſhort Parliament in 1640, as afterwards in that which was called with the long one, and was named to be of the Aſſembly of Divines. In 1643 he was promoted to the Arch-deaconry of *Chicheſter*, by the unſought Favour of Dr. *Duppa*, then Biſhop of that Dioceſe. In the middle of *July* that Year, on the Defeat of an Attempt in the King's Behalf, made in the Doctor's Neighbourhood about *Tunbridge*, and ſuppoſed to be encouraged by his Doctrine and Example, he retired to his old Tutor Dr. *Buckner*, and thence, in a few Weeks to *Oxford*, on a Rumour of a hundred Pound Reward offered to any one that ſhould produce him. Thence he attended the Duke of *Richmond* and Earl of *Southampton* to *London* in Quality of their Chaplain, when they were ſent by the King to procure the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and was afterwards choſen to aſſiſt at that Treaty. In his Abſence the King made him Canon of Chriſt Church, and the Univerſity of *Oxford* choſe him their publick Orator. Preferments he very unwillingly accepted, through an impatient Deſire of returning to his Pariſh; which proving impracticable in *March* 1645, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, probably the laſt Perſon aſſumed to that Service. In that Quality he attended upon the King during his Captivi-

ty,

Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*[y]; as though (forſooth) it

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ty (as ſoon as the Army had taken his Majeſty out of the Hands of the Parliament Commiſſioners, and allowed him the Service of ſome few of his Chaplains) waiting on him in the ſeveral Removes of *Woburn*, *Caveſham*, and *Hampton-Court*, and thence to the Iſle of *Wight*, and continuing there till *Chriſtmas* 1647, that his Majeſty's Attendants were again put from him, he then returned to *Oxford*, where being Sub-Dean of Chriſt-Church, and the Dean then in Priſon for his Loyalty, the entire Management of the College lay upon him, till he was turned out by the Viſitors, and together with Dr. *Sheldon* made a Priſoner in *Oxford*, whence, after ten Weeks, by the Interpoſition of his Brother-in-Law Sir *John Temple*, he was removed to *Clapham* in *Bedfordſhire*, the Houſe where his Friend Sir *Philip Warwick* lived, where *Jan.* 15, 1648, he drew up an Addreſs to the General and Council of Officers, to diſſuade them from the Trial and Murther of the King which then approach'd. After the King's Murther, being releas'd from his Confinement, he retired to Sir *John Packington*'s at *Weſtwood* in *Worceſterſhire*, and when King *Charles* the Second came to *Worceſter*, had the Honour to wait upon him there, and to receive a Letter from his own Hand, to aſſure his Subjects of his Majeſty's Adherence to the Religion of the Church of *England*, for which his Royal Father had died a Martyr. His learned and pious Works were the chief Employment of this and his former Retirements, a full Account of which, and the particular Occaſions of each you have in his Life written by Biſhop *Fell*, and prefixt to them. The Month before the Reſtoration, knowing his Majeſty deſigned to promote him to the See of *Worceſter*, among other Charities he was projecting for that City, he bent his Mind particularly on the Repair of the Cathedral, and laid the Foundation of a conſiderable Advance to that Work; but when he was daily expecting to be called to that Charge from his beloved Retirements, on the 4th of *April* he was ſeized with a violent Fit of the Stone, which after ſome Abatement returned on the 8th, and on the 25th he departed this Life in the fifty fifth Year of his Age. See a fuller Account of him in his Life now mentioned, and *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 158, 159.

[y] In a Manuſcript Note on Dr. *Price's Myſtery and Method of*

it had been contrary to the Practice of all Ages, to promote any one immediately from the Degree of a *Presbyter* to ſo noble a See, fitter, as was pretended, to be beſtowed upon one, that had ſome Time enjoyed an inferior Biſhoprick; When yet (to ſay nothing of others) the very laſt [z] Biſhop of *Worceſter* had been advanced to that See immediately from the Degree of a Presbyter. It was certain, that in the Opinion of all good Men, Dr. *Hammond* would have greatly adorn'd that Dioceſe, where he had dwelt ſome Years in this diſturb'd State of Things, and (to ſay nothing of his immenſe Erudi-

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his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, p. 38. I find it obſerved, that the King gave Authority to Dr. *Duppa* then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and other Biſhops (not there named) to conſecrate Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Lacy*, Dr. *Ferne*, and Dr. *Walton*, and that the Warrant was brought from *Bruſſels* by Mr. *Alleſtrey* in *May* 1659. The Writer of this Note does not cite his Authority, but ſeems to be well aſſured of what he advances in this and a few other Manuſcript Notes on that Book; becauſe he directs what he has writ on the Margin, to be inſerted into the Body of the Book, not as Notes, but Additions and Amendments; which looks as if it had been done by Dr. *Price* himſelf.

[z] Dr. *John Prideaux*, who from Rector of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordſhire*, Canon of Chriſt Church, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, was advanced to this See *Nov.* 22[d], 1641, and dying *July* 29, 1650, the See continued vacant ten Years, till the Promotion of Dr. *George Morley* thereto *Oct.* 9, 1660. *Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Angl.* p. 299, 300. *A. Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol.* 2. p. 69.

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tion)was univerſally eſteem'd and reverenc'd, as a moſt illuſtrious Example of Primitive Piety. But he was accounted more worthy to enjoy a Throne among the Saints in Heaven; for he ſoon after [z] departed this Life, to the no ſmall Addition of Grief to the Church in that her mournful Eſtate.

When the King thought it became his Prudence to nip (as it were) in the Bud all Factions and Animoſities apt to riſe in the civil and military State (as in his Majeſty's Inſtructions ſent to the City of *London* has been taken Notice of [a] above) it is hardly to be expreſs'd, how much the greater Part of the Clergy was aſham'd, that one or two it may be of their own ſacred Order, from whom they had hop'd much better, and who ought to have been to all the Laity Examples of Chriſtian Fortitude and Modeſty, ſhould yet have incurr'd the Imputation of ungovernable Animoſity, and baſe Cowardice. And as true and ſincere Piety had the greateſt Abhorrence of both theſe

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[z] *April* 25, 1660. the Day the *Healing Parliament* met, which called home the King. See below *p.* 255.

[a] Page 236.

Vices: So, that the Crime of Ambition in Times ſo calamitous could ſteal into Mens Minds, is what could hardly be believ'd, if ſome of *Chriſt*'s moſt holy Apoſtles had not been too much inclined to the ſame Vice even then, when the Bark of the Church was toſſed in at leaſt no leſs Waves of Perſecution. Beſides theſe two Biſhops, there ſeem to have been alſo ſome of the inferior Clergy recommended to the Epiſcopal Office, who did not ſufficiently anſwer his Majeſty's Expectation. Some of theſe, if I be not miſtaken, were by ill Health render'd uncapable of bearing ſo great a Weight. But in ſome few perhaps there was wanting a Greatneſs of Mind equal to ſo difficult an Employment; unleſs you had rather impute it to an Affectation of too much Modeſty. It is in the Eccleſiaſtical Fabrick, as it is uſually in all others, that the want of one Pin looſens the whole Frame: Nor was it thought an eaſy Matter to redreſs this Grievance; when the King being unacquainted with it, and remov'd at a great Diſtance, his good Subjects eſteem'd it almoſt a piacular Offence, to fix the leaſt Pin into this Building at their own Diſcretion; for fear they ſhould be charged with

with any Infringement of the Royal Prerogative. But they might have done what had been far more acceptable to their moſt indulgent Prince, who in ſo difficult a State of Affairs was not very ſolicitous about thoſe leſſer Matters; if in a Work of that Importance more Expedition had been uſed by thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to diſpatch it. The Purpoſe was to fill all the vacant Sees in both Provinces: But ſince none that was not ready to comply with any Thing the Governors of the Church ſhould direct, would willingly accept the Biſhoprick of the *Iſle* of *Man* in the Province of *York* (for this had been a ſort of Baniſhment, and being driven, as it were, from the Company of Men, or rather thruſt into the Jaws of a cruel Tyrant [b], who then governed the *Iſle*) this was the Occaſion of ſome Difficulty. To remove this Impediment and Pretence of Shuffling, the Earl of *Derby*

[b] *Daniel King* in his *Treatiſe of the Iſle of* Man (printed *Anno* 1656, Fol.) ſays (p. 16.) *That this Iſle by Authority of Parliament was devolved to* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax.——— He adds, that *his Lordſhip hath the Juriſdiction of the Iſle, as the ſaid Earl* (viz. *of* Derby) *had, ſo hath he alſo the Title, namely Lord of* Man, *and of the* Iſles. The under Lieutenant or Governor was Major *Wade*, &c. The Act referr'd to is *Anno* 1649.

moſt affectionately beſought Mr. *Barwick*, that he would condeſcend to accept of that poor Biſhoprick; for it was in the Patronage of that noble Lord, and he was very ſolicitous to have it well fill'd. Mr. *Barwick* (though never to be deterr'd by any Danger from what became the Duty of a good Man, yet) had Reaſons in his Opinion of ſome Weight, why he could not very willingly ſuffer himſelf to be made a Biſhop; leſt namely he ſhould be thought by ſome, to have labour'd ſo indefatigably in the Buſineſs of the Eccleſiaſtick Succeſſion, only to procure himſelf a higher Title. Yet that there ſhould be no farther Stop made by thoſe tardy Lingerers in promoting this Work, he promiſed to comply with his Lordſhip's Requeſt, if it ſhould appear neceſſary. But that all Pretence of Delay might be taken away from every one, the Chancellor in the King's Name writes a Letter ſomething more preſſing, dated from *Bruſſels*, *Feb.* 20, 1660, in which he cenſures the dilatory Proceeding of thoſe, who acted with a little too much Coldneſs in this Affair: For it was his Majeſty's Intent, that the Clergy ſhould concert this Matter among themſelves, as a Province peculiar

to

to them; and at their Diſcretion, as Occaſion ſhould offer, remove out of the Way whatever Obſtructions there might be to a Work of that Importance. It is certain, his Majeſty had not the leaſt Suſpicion of their incroaching upon his Prerogative; and it was his Opinion, that no room ſhould be allowed to any farther Procraſtination and Delay. The Chancellor's Letter (*Append.* N°. xxv.) has this Paſſage in it.

" Concerning the Buſineſs of the Church, " I will confeſs truly to you, I am always " aſhamed of mentioning it to his Majeſty, " who is as much troubled and aſhamed, " that there ſhould be no more care taken " of it by thoſe, whoſe Part it is, when he " hath done all that he can. I cannot blame " you, for not being deſirous of accepting " the Biſhoprick of *Man*; which if you " ſhould do, no body will accuſe you of " Ambition. So that you will not thereby " be leſs capable of preſſing on the Work; " but on the contrary will give a good Ex- " ample to others, by ſhewing them, that " for the Church's ſake you expoſe your ſelf " to as much Danger, as they can do, and " when you can receive nothing to recom-

" penſe it. The King bids me tell you, " that as he doth intend you a much better " Preferment, ſo if it be found neceſſary, " that you ſubmit to this for the preſent " Service, you ſhall not continue in it, af- " ter his Majeſty ſhall be able to remove " you from it. I hope what Mr. *Alleſtrey* " will ſay from the King, when he ſhall be " heard, will prevail with the Biſhops to " proceed to the Diſpatch of the whole; " and if they ſhall find it counſellable firſt " to provide for the Northern Province (if " the Perſon deſigned by the King for *Che-* " *ſter* ſhall refuſe) that they chuſe as for " *Carliſle* (which he leaves to them to do) " ſo another fit Perſon for *Cheſter*; and then " ſince the Election for *Man* is in my Lord " of *Derby*, and he hath conferred it upon " you, and much Time may be ſpent in " the Alteration; I hope your Friends will " perſuade you to accept of it, for the fa- " cilitating the reſt.

I muſt own, that I have with ſome Freedom cenſur'd the Slowneſs of a few of the Clergy in the Buſineſs of the Church: Yet I am willing to think, there is no Reaſon that any one ſhould blame me for this, as if I intended

to

to caſt any Reflection upon their Order, for which no Man has more Veneration than I. Since thoſe I complain of, that they interrupted the noble Endeavours of many others, were themſelves but very few; and I readily own, and congratulate with the Church of *England*, that far the greateſt part of her Clergy were ſo conſtant to their Duty, that neither the Loſs of all they had, nor Impriſonment, nor Baniſhment, nor even Death itſelf was ſufficient to deter them from it. And thoſe very Men, whom I have now obſerved to have been ſomething deficient therein, did more than once in Times of Diſtreſs obtain immortal Praiſe for their Chriſtian Fortitude and Patience. But it was certainly very indecent, when their deareſt and moſt afflicted Mother the Church was now in her Extremity, and implor'd their Aſſiſtance, that every one according to his ſeveral Ability, did not apply himſelf with greater Solicitude to relieve her. Nor did I think it at all juſt, that when the Fault belong'd to very few, the Imputation of it ſhould be charg'd upon the whole Number: For if there be no Difference to be made between the timo-

rous

" penſe it. The King bids me tell you, " that as he doth intend you a much better " Preferment, ſo if it be found neceſſary, " that you ſubmit to this for the preſent " Service, you ſhall not continue in it, af- " ter his Majeſty ſhall be able to remove " you from it. I hope what Mr. *Alleſtrey* " will ſay from the King, when he ſhall be " heard, will prevail with the Biſhops to " proceed to the Diſpatch of the whole; " and if they ſhall find it counſellable firſt " to provide for the Northern Province (if " the Perſon deſigned by the King for *Che-* " *ſter* ſhall refuſe) that they chuſe as for " *Carliſle* (which he leaves to them to do) " ſo another fit Perſon for *Cheſter*; and then " ſince the Election for *Man* is in my Lord " of *Derby*, and he hath conferred it upon " you, and much Time may be ſpent in " the Alteration; I hope your Friends will " perſuade you to accept of it, for the fa- " cilitating the reſt.

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rous and the brave, between him that is ſlothful, and him that is diligent; then it is in vain that ſo many great Men have endur'd the ſevereſt Confinement for the publick Liberty, nay in vain that they have poured out their generous and noble Blood, as if uſeleſs and ſuperfluous, for their moſt dear Country.

There was no doubt made but this Letter, together with his Majeſty's Command given to Mr. *Alleſtrey* by Word of Mouth, would have effectually ſpurr'd on the moſt dilatory of the Clergy to finiſh this Work out of Hand; if by I know not what ill Fate two new Obſtructions had not interven'd: One was, that Mr. *Barwick*'s Letter, as it was going to *Bruſſels*, the other, that Mr. *Alleſtrey* as he was returning Home from thence, both fell into the Enemies Hands. Mr. *Alleſtrey* betray'd (by whoſe Perfidiouſneſs is unknown) was no ſooner landed upon the *Engliſh* Shore, but he was immediately made a cloſe Priſoner; and Mr. *Barwick*'s Letter, with more ſent by Mr. *William Rombald* and others, were intercepted by the Gariſon of *Dunkirk*, then at Enmity with the King [And what was yet worſe, although

although every different Perſon's Letter was written in a diſtinct Cypher, and that contriv'd with great Thought, yet they were all decypher'd by the Art and Ingenuity of a certain very famous [d] *Mathematician*, who was hired by the Rebels. For it was the very ſame Artiſt that made theſe Diſcoveries, who (too officious to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decypher'd his Majeſty's Papers, written alſo in Characters, and taken at *Naſeby* Fight. Yet he had now at laſt this in him of a good Subject, that at this Time he diſcover'd nothing to the Rebels, which much concern'd the publick Safety; though he ſatisfied ſome of the King's Friends, that he could have diſcover'd a great deal. But all thoſe whom it concern'd being ſufficiently aſſur'd, that no Key of any Cypher had fallen into the Enemy's Hands; it was thought nothing but vain boaſting, when the Rebels brag'd, that by the Help of their Friends they were able to find out the moſt hidden Secrets of the Royaliſts;

[d] Dr. *Wallis*. See above p. 61.

till

till Mr.[e] *Matthew Wrenn* (Son to the Right Reverend Biſhop of *Ely*) who was intimately acquainted with this *Mathematician*, obtained of him ſome Copies of thoſe Letters, as he had decypher'd them, and took Care to have them deliver'd ſeverally to the Perſons that wrote the Letters, who all acknowledg'd them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's Art.]

Theſe two unhappy Miſchances greatly affected the Minds of many, every where ſpreading Suſpicions of Deceit and Treachery: For it was not only impracticable to conſult Mr. *Alleſtrey* concerning the King's Pleaſure, now that he was under cloſe Confinement; but all Correſpondence by Letters between *London* and *Bruſſels* was render'd ſuſpected, dubious, and uncertain. The ſafeſt Way of ſending at that Time was through the Hands of a certain moſt religious Matron, who was Ab-

[e] That Biſhop's eldeſt Son, originally a Student in *Cambridge* (probably of *Pembroke* Hall or *Peterhouſe*, both his Father's own Colleges) afterwards during the Uſurpation he ſtudied ſeveral Years at *Oxford*, in a private Houſe. On the Reſtoration he was made Secretary to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and upon the fall of that great Man, Secretary to the Duke of *York*; in which Employment he died *June* 14, 1672. *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 819, 820.

beſs[f]

beſs [f] of an *Engliſh* Nunnery at *Ghent*, and with great Fidelity took Care of the ſafe Delivery of all Letters ſent from hence thither.

Under theſe Difficulties for ſome Time continued the Buſineſs of the Church; but that of the State by God's great Goodneſs began now at length to bear down all Oppoſition: For though General *Monk* did not yet ſeem openly to declare for the King; yet (what many hop'd would be ſoon the ſame thing) he openly declared againſt the Government of thoſe that had hitherto bore Rule. O with what Acclamations of Joy did the City of *London* then triumph! How hardly did ſhe contain her ſelf thro' Exceſs of Gladneſs, ſeeing all Things at length in Safety, or aſſuredly hoping they would be; when now immediately after the City Gates and Portcullices broke down, the Citizens thrown into Priſon, and Tyranny ravaging with Cruelty and Haughtineſs through all her Streets, by an unexpected Meſſage of glad Tidings, ſhe was order'd again to be FREE! O that joyful and feſtival Night (for we who ſaw it, and bore a part in that Exultation, great as the Cala-

[f] Probably the ſame mentioned in the Chancellor's Letter of *March* 8, 1660. *Append.* N°. xxvi.

mity

mity we had been lately Partakers of, cannot but remember it with Pleaſure) when the Soldiers and Citizens congratulated each other, that the Yoak they had groaned under, alas! too long, was now at length happily ſhaken off! When the moſt agreeable Name of *Liberty*, now for many Years obſolete, was every where ecchoed through the Streets! When laſtly, the Obſequies of the late Tyranny were celebrated with Bonfires illuminating all the City, as with a long-wiſh'd-for Funeral-Pile! Nor were thoſe few Members of the lower Houſe of Parliament yet aſham'd to aſſume this Liberty in great Meaſure to themſelves alone. For neither had the Lords reſum'd their Seats in the upper Houſe; and beſides, all thoſe Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, who from the beginning had perſiſted in their Duty to their King and Country, and for that Reaſon had been driven from their Seats by ſeditious Tumults, ſtill lay under an Incapacity, not yet taken off: Not that General *Monk*, the generous Aſſertor of his oppreſſed Country's Liberty, can be thought to have envied any one his Freedom; but that it was not poſſible for him at one and the ſame Time to ſet the whole

whole Nation at Liberty; with ſo impatient a Thirſt of governing were ſome *Plebeian* Minds poſſeſſed, partly in the Senate, and partly alſo yet in the Army. But he made it his Buſineſs to purge out the Leaven from among the latter. Likewiſe he ſent Colonel *Clobery* and Colonel [f] *Lidcot*, two of his moſt truſty Officers, to the Houſe, guarded by Colonel *Redman* with a ſtout Body of Horſe, earneſtly deſiring them to put an end to that Parliament, and call a new one out of Hand. To many of the Members this Meſſage was not very acceptable: But when the General had given Order to clear the Doors of the Parliament Houſe from all thoſe Guards, who kept far the greateſt part of the Members out of their Seats (namely of thoſe who were permitted to vote in Parliament, till the military Law for bringing the King to his Trial was paſſed) The Houſe being now fuller, came without Difficulty to this Reſolution, that that Parliament ſhould be diſſolv'd on the 16th Day of that inſtant *March*, and a new one meet on the 25th of *April* following.

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[f] Colonel *Leonard Lidcot*.

But

But in the mean Time they were not aſhamed to make a Law for their Fellow-Subjects, by which it was provided, that no Man ſhould be choſen for the Parliament then ſoon to meet, who had bore Arms for the King againſt that preſent Parliament; throwing off all the Odium of the War from themſelves upon the Royal Martyr, and his moſt faithful Subjects: For what the Presbyterians ſeem'd to aim at, who were now ſuperior in Number to thoſe they called Independents, was that all Matters for the future ſhould be ſettled with exact Conformity to the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; by which the beſt of Kings was obliged to purchaſe the good Will of his Enemies, and the Peace of his Subjects at no leſs a Price, than the Spoils of the Church and Kingdom.

It was well indeed, that the greateſt part of the Parliament was willing the Monarchy ſhould be reſtor'd; but moſt of them upon hard Terms; every Party among them endeavouring to draw over the General, and all the Army to their Opinion, and ſpreading the Poiſon of Rebellion in part publickly in the Parliament Houſe, and partly after their uſual manner in private Clubs. Nor

was it yet ſafe for the General openly to oppoſe their Attempts: But what amounted to the ſame Thing, he declar'd that it ſeem'd to him moſt reaſonable, that the manner of reſtoring the Privileges of his Country ſhould be left to the next Parliament. Yet the preſent Houſe had in it ſome Members of great Worth, ſuch as Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *Richard Brown*, and others, who to the utmoſt of their Power oppos'd the wicked Attempts of the reſt; now heartily repenting of their dreadful Violation of the Laws both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, and of the unheard of Injuries they had formerly done the beſt Prince and moſt holy Martyr, and earneſtly exhorting the General to make a full Reſtitution of their Rights to all. But there was one Thing which occaſioned ſome to hope, but very many to fear, that this great Man was not altogether averſe to their Sentiments, who deſir'd the King ſhould be reſtor'd by Articles conformable to the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; and that was, that before he enter'd upon this late Expedition into *England*, he and the *Scotch* Nobility (to whom it was thought thoſe Articles would not be unacceptable) had had a private Conſultation, the Subject

whereof was hitherto concealed with as much Care, as the reſt of his Deſigns. On this Occaſion Mr. *Barwick* received the following Orders dated from *Bruſſels, March* 8, 1660. *Append.* N°. xxvi.

—" As *Monk*'s proceeding hath been very " myſterious throughout: So nothing is " more wonderful, than the Secrecy of all " that hath been tranſacted in *Scotland*; of " all which Intrigue the King knows no " more, than he does of his preſent Inten- " tions; nor hath any Expreſs been diſ- " patch'd from *Scotland* to the King, to give " him any Account of what they demand- " ed, or the other promiſed: therefore the " King deſires, you would uſe the beſt " Means you can to inform your ſelf of all " the Particulars. His Majeſty is abun- " dantly pleas'd with the Account you give " him of your Friend, upon whoſe Affec- " tion he depends, as likewiſe upon his " Diſcretion to proceed in that Method and " Pace he finds moſt convenient, who can " beſt judge of his Nature, and how he is " to be approach'd; and when it is ſeaſon- " able, he will ſhew him the King's Letter " to him, and may aſſure him, that he can-

" not

" not be diſappointed in any Expectation " he ſhall entertain of the King's Kind- " neſs.—

For ſo it ſeem'd proper to his Majeſty, by comparing together the General's ſeveral Proceedings, to make ſome Conjecture, what his Deſigns were at that Time. But it was a Matter of too much Difficulty, from the *Scotch* Affairs to make an Eſtimate of the *Engliſh*, or to borrow Light from what had been done, to diſcover more clearly what was then doing. For (except ſome [h] Money to be given by the *Scots* for the Uſe of the Army) this cloſe reſerved Man ſeems to have diſtinctly agreed nothing more with them, than only that they ſhould take care to ſecure the Peace at Home, whilſt he endeavour'd to keep off from Abroad a new Tyranny ready to invade their Borders. But there was no need of dwelling on this Inquiry with too much Solicitude; ſeeing that all Things now haſten'd to a happy Iſſue. And though by a moſt

[h] See *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *B.* 16. *p.* 703. *Dugd. Short View Ch.* 42. *p.* 481. *Skinner's Life of General Monk*, p. 182, &c.

wicked Law (as was ſaid above) the Liberty of voting in the Election of Members for next Parliament was not a little violated; yet that Law did the Faction no great good: For what could be more unjuſt, than that the leaſt part of the People ſhould make ſo hard a Law for the far greateſt and nobleſt part of them? That all who had endeavoured to live according to the received Laws (which was every good Subject's Duty) ſhould for that very Reaſon forfeit the Right of Subjects, and be condemn'd (as it were) to be perpetual Slaves? Nay the General himſelf being privately ask'd by the Royaliſts, if it did not appear moſt reaſonable to him, that a free People ſhould make uſe of their ancient Right in giving Votes, made no doubt to anſwer freely (as much as he had been upon the Reſerve till then) that no Injury, as he knew of, would be done to any one, if the People made uſe of their Right. Yet none of thoſe who had formerly fought for the Rights of the Crown againſt the Mock-Parliament, would now offer himſelf as a Candidate to the Votes of his Countrymen, without firſt conſulting General *Monk*, much leſs againſt his Will; yet for any one to have reveal'd the Gene-

ral's Opinion in this Matter, as free as he was to give it when privately ask'd, would by all the King's Friends have been accounted a very unworthy Action: For this had been to expoſe a Perſon (who beyond the Examples of all Ages had deſerv'd well of the Publick) if not to be oppreſs'd by the Rage and Malice of the Rebels (from which he ſeem'd to be ſecure, now that at laſt he had modell'd the Army of the three Kingdoms to his Mind) yet at leaſt to be made the Object of their Curſes and Execrations. Hence it was, that the Rebels did not deſpair wholly of promoting, in ſome Meaſure at leaſt, their Intereſt in next Parliament; ſince very many honeſt loyal Gentlemen refuſed to be choſen Members, though voluntarily offer'd: Not that they were under any Awe of the qualifying Vote abovementioned, for which no one had the leaſt Regard; but for fear General *Monk* ſhould incur any Suſpicion on their Account. Yet the horrid Murther of the Royal Martyr, and the no leſs impious Proſcription of the King his Son, had render'd all the Attempts of the Faction ſo hateful to every one, that few could procure themſelves to be choſen into this Parliament, who ſeem'd in the

leaſt to favour their Schemes. But General *Monk*, though he had marſhall'd the whole Army of the Common-wealth under Officers of approv'd Fidelity (among whom he had given the Government of *Cheſter* Caſtle to Colonel *Venables* abovementioned, who had been now long engaged in the King's Service with Mr. *Barwick*) did not however think Matters in perfect Safety, till he had obliged all the Common Soldiers alſo of the Veteran Regiments, on whom both Peace and War moſt depended, to come to this mutual Agreement, that they would willingly comply with the Reſolution of the next Parliament. From this very few diſſented; in all the General's own Regiment no more than two.

When this was done, his Excellence thinking himſelf now more ſecure, at laſt admitted to a private Conference with him Sir *John Greenville*, by whom his Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk* had been formerly ſent to him into *Scotland* with Inſtructions from the King. In that Conference the General declared to Sir *John* his Readineſs to ſerve his Majeſty, which it was very neceſſary to conceal till then, by Reaſon of many and great Difficulties, wherewith he was to ſtruggle;

ſtruggle: But now that through the merciful Providence of God he ſeem'd to have in great Meaſure overcome them all, he ſhould for the future appear more openly in his Service. But he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would retire as ſoon as poſſible from *Bruſſels* to *Breda*; where in the Court of his Royal Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, he could both more conveniently attend upon his Affairs, which now haſtened to Maturity, and be more ſecure from the wicked Contrivances of his Enemies. Sir *John Greenville* very much rejoicing (as was but reaſonable) at this News, made all poſſible Haſte to *Bruſſels*; but carried to his Majeſty only by Word of Mouth what the General had given him in Command: For he, who was the moſt cautious Man living, and rather choſe to be in reality dutiful and ſerviceable to the King, than to appear ſo, did not think it was yet ſafe to commit any Thing to writing. Upon Sir *John Greenville*'s firſt Arrival, his Majeſty, according to the General's Advice, immediately goes to *Breda*, but as it were with an intent of returning again: For hitherto the *Spaniſh* Court which was at *Bruſſels*, did not believe that General *Monk* had the leaſt Inclination

to ſerve the King; but thought his only Aim was, to ſerve his own Ambition, after the Example of thoſe, who had got the Government into their Hands before. And the only Reaſon of this Journey, his Majeſty gave out, even to thoſe of his Houſhold, was, that he went to make his deareſt Siſter a Viſit; being now long ſince ſufficiently ſecure of the General's experienc'd Fidelity, and moſt profound Wiſdom in conducting Affairs of Difficulty and Importance.

Mr. *Barwick* in a late Letter to the Chancellor had informed him from Colonel *Clobery*'s Account, with what Clamour, Rage, and Indignation the General's Meſſengers were received by the hotteſt among the Members, when they carried that dreadful Meſſage of at length diſſolving their Mock-Parliament. To this Letter the Chancellor then at *Breda*, in one dated *April* 16, 1660, among other Things anſwers thus:

" The King came hither but on *Wedneſ-*
" *day*, and I but the laſt Night; ſo that
" having but two or three Hours to make
" uſe of a ſafe Meſſenger, I can hardly find
" the Letters I am to anſwer. The Pro-
" ſpect of your Affairs looks very well to-
" wards

" wards us; and I am perſuaded, that *Monk*
" will in the end appear to have proceeded
" like a ſober Man; and aſſure your ſelf,
" your Friend [k] cannot be without a very
" good Acknowledgment, for contributing
" much towards that Temper; and what-
" ever Jealouſies there be among themſelves,
" between the Civil and Martial Counſel-
" lors, I do not find there is any of the laſt
" *Claſſis*, by whom *Monk* is like to be advi-
" ſed, or who are like to do him ſo much
" Service in the Army, as your two [l] Friends
" are: And therefore I pray continue your
" Interpoſition with them, with all the
" Encouragement that can be deſired from
" the King, of which they may be moſt
" confident. And here I muſt not omit to
" tell you, that ſome Perſons of unqueſti-
" onable Affections, and of great Quality,
" have ſent lately to the King, to make
" Propoſitions to him of engaging Colonel
" *Clobery*, as a Perſon moſt able to do him
" Service with the General; they not ima-

[k] Mr. *Otway* or Colonel *Clobery*.
[l] Colonel *Clobery* and Colonel *Redman*.

" gining,

" gining, that we have any Knowledge or " Communication with him; nor do we " pretend it; but ſeem to decline to write " ſuch Letters, as they deſire, out of an " Apprehenſion, that he is of the Republi- " can Party, and not to be wrought upon. " This we think very neceſſary you ſhould " know, and it may be he himſelf; leſt it " ſhould be intimated to him, that there " is an ill Opinion of him here; which " ſometimes falls out, by the Weakneſs of " our Friends, when to avoid ſome unſea- " ſonable Overtures, or a more unſeaſon- " able Diſcovery, we ſeem to have Preju- " dice towards thoſe, in whom we have " moſt confided. *Append.* N°. xxix.

For theſe were thoſe illuſtrious Perſons with whom Mr. *Barwick* maintained an intimate Friendſhip, and conſtantly communicated his moſt ſecret Purpoſes; who as they were moſt conſiderable for their Fidelity, Courage, and Experience, obtained no mean Place and Reputation among thoſe, that had a Share in this glorious Undertaking; by whoſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance General *Monk*, renown'd throughout the World,

World, gain'd ſuch a Victory over the King's Enemies, and that even without the Effuſion of Blood, as no Age ever ſaw one either more difficult or more glorious. But as Mr. *Barwick* was always uſed to catch at every Opportunity of raiſing the Monarchy from its Ruins: So he had ſomewhat more Hopes of the Means that were then uſing, than of any other, after he had often heard the Right Reverend Biſhop of *Ely* promiſe himſelf all he could wiſh from the General's Fidelity, and give this Reaſon for it, *viz.* That that great Man having been formerly taken Priſoner, when fighting with ſignal Bravery for the King, after a long ſevere Confinement in the Tower with his Lordſhip, and no Hopes left of recovering his Liberty (the Royal Cauſe daily growing more deſperate) when *Cromwell*, knowing his Courage and Experience in military Affairs, had long courted him to come over to his Side, and at laſt offered him a Command in the *Iriſh* Service, was, to obtain his Liberty, perſuaded to accept the Offer, but with this Proteſtation, that he would bear Arms againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, but by no Means againſt his King: And when all Matters were agreed, and he was going to take

take leave of his Friends, he came to this Biſhop, and throwing himſelf at his Feet, begg'd the venerable Prelate's Benediction [m], binding himſelf at the ſame Time with this ſolemn Engagement, that he would never be an Enemy to his King. And it is moſt certain, that this illuſtrious Warrior never fought either in *Ireland* or in *Scotland* for his Deliverers in *England*; but employed all his Force againſt thoſe, who had formerly created his Majeſty all this Trouble and Diſturbance.

After I had writ this, his Grace *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle* did me the Honour to ſhew me a [n] Letter, written by the King all in his own Hand, at leaſt four Years before the Reſtoration, to his Grace's Father then commanding in *Scotland*, wherein his Majeſty earneſtly advis'd him, to take particular Care not to ſuffer himſelf by any Artifice of *Cromwell*'s to be drawn out of *Scotland*; adding, that as to the reſt his Majeſty was not in the leaſt doubtful of his Fidelity and Obedience, when Opportunity ſhould offer. This Letter he preſerv-

[m] See *Skinner's Life of General* Monk, *p.* 29, 30.
[n] See a Copy of the Letter, *Append.* N°. iii.

ed

ed among his moſt valuable Treaſures, yet ſeems to have writ no Anſwer to it; thinking it much better, and in that dangerous Conjuncture by all Means ſafer, to anſwer by ſome heroick Undertaking, than by bare empty Words. Yet from this profound and perpetual * Silence thoſe Doubts I have mentioned above without all peradventure had their Riſe.

And now all thoſe ſecret Endeavours, whereby others had hitherto with indefatigable Pains attempted to reſtore the King to the Throne, and the Biſhops to the Church, were perfectly at an end, as altogether ſupervacaneous, after it was once

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* Though the General, who was ſo cautious, that he would write no Anſwer to that Letter the King ſent him by Sir *John Greenville* near four Years after this, when Matters were much riper for a Reſtoration (*ſupra p.* 194.) muſt have thought it too hazardous to anſwer this; yet it is ſome Indication of his good Purpoſes ſo early, that he preſerved it; and it could not but adminiſter ſome Hopes to his Majeſty to obſerve, that though the General did not anſwer his Letter, yet he was ſo far from diſcovering it to the Uſurper, which would have been no little Merit, that he ſeemed rather to purſue that Advice and Direction his Majeſty had given him therein. Nay his Excellence's own Chaplain aſſures us, that he was ſo careful of one Particular adviſed in this Letter *viz.* (*to keep himſelf out of the Enemy's Hands*) that he was reſolv'd to commiſſion the whole *Scotch* Nation againſt Parliament and Army and all, before he would be taken tamely by them. Dr. *Price's Myſtery and Method of the Reſtoration*, p. 8. See *Skinner's Life of General* Monk, p. 140.

known,

known, that General *Monk* was proſecuting the ſame glorious Deſign: And as his Majeſty *Charles* the Second after the meeting of the new Parliament, was publickly proclaimed King in all the Counties and Boroughs of his Dominions: So there were not like to be long wanting to the Church Biſhops choſen after the received Cuſtom by their reſpective Chapters; for the intended Choice by a Synod of Biſhops had been hitherto without Succeſs, on account of the Impediments abovementioned. But after the Rights of the King and Church, as well as thoſe of the Nobility and People were ſecur'd, Mr. *Barwick* was ſent by the Biſhops to his Majeſty at *Breda*, with the following Inſtructions.

I. HE was order'd in the firſt Place to wait upon the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to beg his Lordſhip's Aſſiſtance to preſent a moſt humble Petition to his Majeſty in the Name of the Biſhops, and then to deliver their Lordſhips Letters to the Chancellor, to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to the Secretary of State, wherein they return'd thoſe great Men their moſt thankful Acknowledgments

knowledgments for their Piety and Affection to the Church in her late moſt afflicted State.

II. Then he was inſtructed to give his Majeſty a diſtinct Account of the preſent State of the Church in all the Particulars wherein his Majeſty deſir'd to be inform'd; and to bring the Biſhops back his Majeſty's Commands, with Regard to all that ſhould be thought proper for them or any of them to do.

III. He was likewiſe humbly to ask, what was his Majeſty's Pleaſure with Regard to ſome of the Biſhops waiting on the Sea-Coaſt to pay their Duty to his Majeſty, when by God's Bleſſing he ſhould ſoon land in *England*; and whether it was his Royal Pleaſure, that they ſhould attend him there in their Epiſcopal Habit, and at what Time and Place, and how many, and which of them his Majeſty pleaſed ſhould wait his Arrival.

IV. He was alſo to enquire concerning the Number of his Majeſty's Chaplains, whether any of them, beſides thoſe in waiting, ſhould attend his Majeſty's Arrival upon the Coaſt, and to beg that his Majeſty would vouchſafe to appoint how many, and who.

V. He was further commanded moſt humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that if Dr.[p] *Luſhington*, formerly the King's Chaplain, ſhould offer to officiate in that Capacity again, his Majeſty would be pleas'd not to indulge him that Favour, till Inquiry ſhould be made concerning his ſuſpected Faith and Principles.

VI. Since it has been cuſtomary for our Kings, after any extraordinary Mercies receiv'd from God, to celebrate a publick Thankſgiving in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, Mr. *Barwick* was alſo enjoin'd humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to ſignify, what was his Royal Pleaſure on this Behalf, in the ruin'd Eſtate of that Church.

VII. His laſt Inſtruction was, to give a juſt and due Account to his Majeſty (who was well acquainted with all that Affair of the Church mentioned above) why it had met with no better Succeſs.

Mr. *Barwick* was moſt graciouſly receiv-ed by the King his Royal Maſter, nor with

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[p] Dr. *Thomas Luſhington*, Prebendary of *Salisbury*, and Rector of *Burnham Weſtgate* in *Norfolk*. See a farther Account of him, and his Principles ſuſpected of *Socinianiſm*. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 171, &c.

leſs

leſs Courteſy by all the King's Miniſters, who with one Mouth applauded his no leſs ſucceſsful than difficult and indefatigable Service. The *Sunday* after he came to *Breda* he was appointed to preach before the King, and was afterwards made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains.

As ſoon as Mr. *Barwick* had duly perform'd what the Biſhops had given him in charge, to the King, he alſo preſented to his Majeſty another Petition in the Name of his Friend Mr. *Otway*, who humbly requeſted, that he might be put into a [q] Place then vacant in the Court of Chancery, to which he ſeemed to have formerly had ſome Right from the Grant of his Royal Father. So modeſtly he appear'd to think of that extraordinary Service he had done the King's Son; as if he had not been worthy of any Reward for it, unleſs he had deſerv'd ſo very well of both Kings.

He had alſo other Petitions to offer, not on his own Behalf, but on that of his Friends;

[q] That I ſuppoſe of Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, which yet I am told is now in the Diſpoſal of the Chancellor of the Duchy. It is certain Sir *John Otway* had that Place, and, I think, enjoyed it to the end of his Life.

mindful (as was but juſt) of thoſe, whom he had brought over to the King's Intereſt, and who depended upon him in promoting it. The Sum of thoſe Petitions, as I find them in Mr. *Barwick*'s Original, I ſhall here ſet down Word for Word.

I. He petition'd that according to the Chancellor's Letter which he lately received from him, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, as ſoon as it ſhould be thought ſeaſonable, might receive ſome Acknowledgment from his Majeſty of the Service he had done towards the Reſtoration; and in the mean Time that his eldeſt Son, if his Majeſty thought fit, might be dignified with the Honour of Knighthood, having deſerv'd very well of his Majeſty, and being a Gentleman of great Eſteem in his Country, poſſeſs'd of a very conſiderable Eſtate, and elected a Member of the new Parliament.

II. Since his Majeſty in a Letter [1] formerly written to Mr. *Barwick* gave him leave to encourage Colonel *Clobery* to hope,

[1] Supra p. 190.

he

he ſhould receive ſome Dignity from his Royal Bounty; which Letter he had for very weighty Reaſons communicated to the Colonel: He now humbly petition'd, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to make good this Promiſe to that [f] Gentleman; becauſe from

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[f] When Colonel *Clobery* was firſt mentioned above, *p.* 161. becauſe I had not then received all the Information I expected concerning him, and what relates to the Reward of his great Service ſeemed more proper to be mentioned here, where the King is petitioned to make good what Mr. *Barwick* had by his Majeſty's Direction encouraged the Colonel to hope, I choſe to ſay ſo little of him there, and refer the Reader hither for a farther Account, which I have ſince received, and here follows.

Colonel *Clobery* was the younger Son of an ancient Family in *Devonſhire*, which had continued at *Bradſton* their Seat above five hundred Years. They have had a plentiful Eſtate in that County and in *Cornwall*, and have frequently intermarried with the beſt Families in both Counties. He was born at *Braaſton* in the Year 1623, or 1624; his Father a Royaliſt, gave him an ingenuous Education, and he was ſent to the *Temple* to ſtudy the Law. His natural and acquired Abilities were ſuch, it is probable he would have been very conſiderable in that Profeſſion, had he not quitted it, after the Murther of King *Charles*, to ſerve under his Countryman and Kinſman General *Monk*, who advanced him from one Commiſſion to another, till he gave him the Command of a Regiment. At the Reſtoration, being preſented by the General to the King, he was Knighted, and had a Penſion of ſix hundred Pounds *per Annum* granted to him, his Heirs, and Aſſigns for ever, in Conſideration of his Services at that Time; but to ceaſe and determine upon his Majeſty's granting him Lands of like Value. The Penſion was afterwards ſurrendred upon conveying to him certain Fee-Farm Rents, according to the Terms of the Grant of the Penſion. After disbanding the Army, he had no Command till 1667, when upon the *Dutch* Fleet coming up to *Chatham*,

from that Time he had faithfully ſerved the Royal Cauſe, and beſides had ſo much Intereſt in the Army, that his Service was like to be of no ſmall Importance.

III. The

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a Commiſſion was ſent him without his ſeeking or privity, with Orders immediately to raiſe a Troop of Horſe, and to march with them to *Rye*. He received his Commiſſion with the Orders on a *Sunday* Night at *Wincheſter*. where he then lived, and where he was ſo much eſteemed and beloved, that the *Wedneſday* Morning following he marched at the Head of more than an hundred Horſe: When that Danger was over, and the Troops raiſed on that Occaſion disbanded, he returned to *Wincheſter*, for which City he ſerved in Parliament, with *James* Lord *Anneſley*, the three laſt Parliaments of King *Charles* the Second. In *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, at the Requeſt of the Lords Lieutenants of *Hampſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, who were commanded to raiſe the Militia of thoſe Counties, and to march with them againſt the Rebels (the Militia being mutinous and unwilling to march) he was prevailed on to lead them to the King's Camp, which with great Difficulty he performed: But upon their continuing mutinous and diſorderly, he was forced to diſmiſs them, and ſerved himſelf as a Volunteer; and to his Conduct in great Meaſure was owing the Defeat of the Rebels: For he marked out the Ground for the Camp at *Sedgemore*, and did the Duty at firſt of the Officers of Horſe, that were ſurprized and not ready, when the Rebels attacked them in the Night. This the Earl of *Feverſham*, who commanded the Forces, and the Officers under him did Sir *John* the Juſtice to acknowledge, and repreſented his Services with ſuch Advantage to the King, that he was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend for him to thank him for them, and to deſire he would take the Commiſſion of Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Horſe, then to be raiſed by the Lord *Lumley*, which he accepted: But the latter end of the Year following he ſurrendred it, being diſabled by a dangerous Fever, ſucceeded by a Dropſy, of which he died at *Wincheſter* in 1687, in the 63^{d} or 64th Year of his Age, and was interr'd in that Cathedral. I have mentioned the Monument erected there to his Memory, and where the

Inſcription

III. The third Article of his Petition was, that Colonel *Robert Venables* might be honoured with ſome eminent Mark of the Royal Favour; ſince it was ſufficiently known, that he formerly both could have reſtor'd his Majeſty to his Throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hinder'd by the Perfidiouſneſs of ſome, to whom the King's Buſineſs was truſted.

Inſcription is already publiſhed; which being in *Latin*, and in Point of Hiſtory containing only a ſmall part of the Account of him now given, I did not think it worth while to publiſh it again here.

He was twice married, firſt to the Widow of ——— *Erliſman*, Eſq; by whom he had no Iſſue: His ſecond Wife was *Anne*, Daughter of *George Cranmer* of *Canterbury*, a Deſcendant from Archbiſhop *Cranmer*. He had by her one Son and two Daughters, who died in their Infancy, and four Daughters that lived to be married, (the two eldeſt by him in his Life-time) *Anne* to Sir *Charles Holte* of *Aſton* in the County of *Warwick*, Bart. by whom ſhe had a numerous Iſſue: Her eldeſt Son is now Sir *Clobery Holte*. *Catherine* married to *William Bromley* of *Baginton* in the ſame County, Eſq; (in the Reign of her late Majeſty Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and Principal Secretary of State) who had Iſſue by her only one Son, *Clobery Bromley*, Eſq; who died without Iſſue, Member of Parliament for the City of *Coventry*. *Suſanna* married to Sir *Thomas Trollope* of *Caſwicke* in the County of *Lincola*, Bart. by whom there are ſeveral Sons and Daughters living. And *Mary*, married to Sir *John Noel* of *Kirkby* in the County of *Leiceſter*, Bart. deceaſed, a Branch of the Earl of *Ganesborough's* Family: He left by her two Sons and one Daughter, his eldeſt Son is now Sir *Clobery Noel*, and his Brother Member of Parliament for *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*. I had the Honour of this Information from Mr. *Bromley* abovementioned, and beg leave upon this Occaſion to acknowledge the many and great Obligations I have had to him and his excellent Lady.

IV. The fourth was, that ſuch as had tranſmitted Money through his or Dr. *Hewit*'s Hands for the King's Subſiſtence, ſhould be admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, as an honourable Acknowledgment of that Service.

V. The fifth, that Dr. *Hewit*'s Widow, an excellent Perſon, might be taken under his Majeſty's Care and Protection, and that her fatherleſs Son might have ſome Place given him, on the Profits whereof he might be able to ſubſiſt.

And now at laſt there was Liberty for all ſuch, as had been long baniſhed from the Univerſities, to return thither, and repoſſeſs themſelves of their ancient Rights, each in his own College; all Obſtruction being now removed, but what themſelves had occaſion'd ſince their Expulſion. But Mr. *Barwick* willingly gave up his Right in favour of a hopeful [t] young Man, though an

[t] *Jonathan Tuckney* Son of Dr. *Tuckney*, then Maſter of the College, who had been admitted into Mr. *Barwick*'s Fellowſhip (*viz.* Mr. *Simpſon*'s) *March* 17, 1657, but not having immediately ſucceeded Mr. *Barwick* (for *John Starkey* came between them, and was the firſt Intruder) that might incline Mr. *Barwick*

an unjuſt Poſſeſſor, who at that Time was an Intruder upon his Fellowſhip, and had been educated in Schiſmatick Principles from his Childhood; whom yet by this Act of good Nature and Generoſity he endeavoured to ſecure to the Church and Crown: Yet he was not willing to leave *Cambridge* wholly, till he had taken his Doctor of Divinity's Degree, that he might return more fit to the publick Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, and to his Eſtate now again at Liberty. The Degree of Bachelor in the ſame Faculty, after the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was deſtroyed, he had formerly taken at [u] *Oxford*; in which Refuge of the Learned under the Royal Gariſon, he laid the Foundation of an intimate Friendſhip with the moſt eminent Perſons of that Univerſity, Dr. [w] *Sheldon*, Dr.

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wick to be more favourable to him; yet *Tuckney* went off ſoon after on the *Bartholomew* Act, ſucceeded *April* 7, 1663, by *William Birbeck. Coll. Regr.* See *Calamy*'s Abridgment of the Life of *Baxter*.

[u] *Feb.* 21, 1645, being then Maſter of Arts of nineteen Years ſtanding, and Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Durham*. *Wood Faſt. Ox. Vol.* 2. *fol.* 732.

[w] *Gilbert*, youngeſt Son of *Roger Sheldon* of *Stanton* in *Staffordſhire*, born there *July* 19, 1598, had his Name from his Godfather, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to whom his Father was a menial Servant, became Commoner of *Trinity* College in *Oxford*, *Anno* 1613, A. M, *Anno* 1620, elected Fellow of *All-*

don, Dr. [x] *Hammond*, Dr. [y] *Dolben*, Dr. [z] *Fell*,

Souls 1622, about which Time he entred into holy Orders, and becoming afterwards Domeſtick Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, he recommended him to King *Charles* the Firſt. In 1634 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, being then Prebendary of *Glouceſter*, and was next Year choſen Warden of his College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and afterwards Clerk of his Cloſet, and was deſigned to be alſo Maſter of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, only that the Rebellion prevented it, under which he was both ejected from his Wardenſhip, and alſo impriſoned in *Oxford* and elſewhere, together with Dr. *Hammond*, by the Parliament Viſitors, 1648; when releaſed he retired to his Friends in *Staffordſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*, and found Means to ſend the King conſtant Supplies of Money. On the Death of Dr. *John Palmer* his Intruder in *All-Souls*, *March* 4, 1659, and the near Proſpect of a Reſtoration, he was reſtored to that Wardenſhip, but inſtead of taking Poſſeſſion of it again, was ſoon made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Biſhop of *London October* 28, 1660, in the room of Biſhop *Juxon*, then tranſlated to *Canterbury*, on whoſe Death he alſo was tranſlated to that See, *Auguſt* 31, 1663, having been for ſome time before one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. In 1667 he was made Chancellor of *Oxford*; and dying *November* 9, 1677, was privately interred in *Croydon* Church, near Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s Tomb, by his own Direction, and had a ſtately Monument erected over him by his elder Brother's Son, Sir *Joſeph Sheldon* then lately Lord Mayor of *London*. He built the Theatre at *Oxford* at the Expence of above ſixteen thouſand Pounds, and gave two thouſand Pounds for Land of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* to keep it in Repair. He built the Library at *Lambeth*; gave two thouſand Pounds to St. *Paul's*; great Benefactions to the two *Trinity* Colleges in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; fifteen hundred Pounds in charitable Legacies. Theſe beſides large Sums given yearly in publick and private Charities, from his being made Biſhop of *London* to the Time of his Death, appeared on his Accounts to amount to about ſixty ſix thouſand Pounds. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 678, 679.

[x] See above, *p.* 239, 240.

[y] *John*, Son of *William Dolben*, D.D. Rector of *Stanwick* in *Northamptonſhire*,

[z] *Fell*, Dr. [a] *Alleſtrey*, Dr. [b] *Willis*, and others,

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Northamptonſhire, born there *May* 20, 1624, choſen Student of Chriſt Church from *Weſtminſter* School, *Anno* 1640. He bore Arms for the King in *Oxford* ſome Time; was an Enſign at the Battel of *Marſton-Moor*, and afterwards a Major in one of the Royal Armies. After the War he took holy Orders in 1646, and returning to Chriſt Church, proceeded A. M. in 1647, and was ejected by the Viſitors next Year: Soon after marrying Dr. *Sheldon*'s Niece, he lived in St. *Aldate*'s Pariſh in *Oxford* during the Uſurpation, and aſſiſted Mr. *John Fell* (afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*) in his Church of *England* Congregation there. On the Reſtoration he was inſtall'd Canon of Chriſt Church, *July* 27, 1660, and ſoon proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and on the Recommendation of his Wife's Uncle, then Biſhop of *London*, was made Archdeacon of *London*, Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, *December* 5, 1662, in the Room of Dr. *Earle* promoted to the See of *Worceſter*. On the Death of Biſhop *Warner* he was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *November* 25, 1666, and held the Deanery of *Weſtminſter in Commendam*. In 1675 he was made the King's Almoner, and on the Deceaſe of Dr. *Sterne* was advanced to the See of *York*, *July* 28, 1683. He died of the Small-Pox, *April* 11, 1686, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 600, 601.

[z] *John*, Son of Dr. *Samuel Fell*, ſometime Dean of *Chriſt Church*, born at *Summinghill* in *Berkſhire*, *Anno* 1625, bred at the Free-School of *Thame* in *Oxfordſhire*, and made Student of *Chriſt Church*, *Anno* 1636; proceeding A. M. 1643, was then in Arms for his Majeſty in *Oxford* Gariſon, and afterwards an Enſign. In 1648 being ejected, and then in Orders, he and others kept a private Church of *England* Congregation in *Oxford*. On the Reſtoration he was made Canon of *Chriſt Church*, *July* 27, 1660, and Dean *November* the 30th following, being then one of the King's Chaplains, and D. D. *January* 8, 1665, he was choſen Biſhop of *Oxford*, and held his Deanery *in Commendam*. He died *July* 10, 1686, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. See a farther Account of him, and of his unwearied Endeavours for maintaining the Diſcipline and good Order, and promoting the Intereſt of his own College, and of the Univerſity, as alſo of his publick Benefactions to both, and of his learned Works. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 602, *&c.*

[a] See above, *p.* 201, 202. [b] *Thomas*

thers, all as well as he, both Enemies to the Uſurpation, and Promoters of the King's Intereſt.

[The firſt of all that were regularly advanced to the Degree of Doctor at *Cambridge*, after the Senate of the Univerſity had been long ſince diſſolved by the Rebellion, were theſe Perſons [c] following, all moſt dear Friends to one another, Mr. *Peter* [d] *Gunning*, Mr. *Iſaac* [e] *Barrow*, Mr.

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[b] *Thomas*, Son of *Thomas Willis*, Steward to Sir *Walter Smith* of *Great Bedwyn* in *Wiltſhire*, born there *June* 27, 1621. *Anno* 1636, he became Butler to Dr. *Iles* Canon of *Chriſt Church*, and having taken both Degrees in Arts *Anno* 1642, as ſoon as *Oxford* was gariſon'd, he bore Arms there for the King, and when it was ſurrendred, *Anno* 1646 proceeded M. B. and practiſed Phyſick there, Mr. *Fell*, whoſe Siſter he had married, keeping a Church of *England* Congregation in his Houſe. *Anno* 1660 he was made *Sedlie*'s Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, and ſoon after created Doctor of his Faculty, and on the Foundation of the Royal Society, was made one of its Fellows. Being invited up to *London* by Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Anno* 1666, he ſettled in St. *Martin*'s-*Lane*, *Weſtminſter*, and ſoon became very eminent; and was choſen one of the College of Phyſicians. He died *November* 11, 1675. and was interr'd in *Weſtminſter-Abby*. See a farther Account of him and his learned Works. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 402, *&c.*

[c] In the King's *Mandat* for this Purpoſe, which was the firſt *Mandat* ſent down to *Cambridge* by King *Charles* the Second, dated *June* 21, 1660, and directed to Dr. *Love*, Maſter of *Corpus-Chriſti* College, then Vice-Chancellor, they are named in the Order following, *Bernard Hales*, *Peter Gunning*, *Iſaac Barrow*, *John Barwick*, *John Aucher*, *William Chamberlain*, as appears from the Original Under Seal in the Univerſity Archives.

[d] See above, *p.* 39.

[e] See above, *p.* 36.

Bernard

Bernard [f] *Hales*, Mr. *John* [g] *Aucher*, Mr. *William* [h] *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *John Barwick*. Every one of theſe, immediately before they took their Degree, either per-

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[f] Prebendary and Archdeacon of *Ely*, and on the Promotion of Dr. *Coſin* to the See of *Durham*, choſen by the Biſhop of *Ely Nov.* 5, 1660, to ſucceed him in the Maſterſhip of St. *Peter*'s College in *Cambridge* (*Regr. Elien.*) to which he was a great Benefactor; for beſides a hundred Pound to their Library, and other Gifts, he left them by his Will in Lands to the Value of ſeven thouſand Pounds, to augment the Maſter's Revenue, maintain the Organiſt, and provide for ſeven Scholars. He alſo gave to his Succeſſors, the Maſters of the College for the Time being, the perpetual Advouzon of two Rectories, *Glaſton* in the County of *Rutland*, and *Knapton* in *Norfolk* (*Commemor. Benefactor. Coll. S. Petri Cantab.*) He died *March* 25, and was interr'd in that College Chapel on *March* 30, 1663. *Regr.* of *Little St. Mary's*.

[g] Fellow of St. *Peter's* College in *Cambridge*, I ſuppoſe the ſame that Dr. *Walker* by Miſtake calls *Archer* (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. *p.* 153.) for that he was ejected, he himſelf tells us in the Title Page of his Treatiſe, intituled, *The Arraignment of Rebellion*, printed at *London* 1684, in 4to, ſaid to be written by *John Aucher, M. A. an ejected Fellow of St.* Peter's *College in* Cambridge, *afterwards Doctor of Divinity and Canon of* Chriſt Church, Canterbury. We learn from the Inſcription on his Grave-Stone there, (publiſhed in the *Appendix* to the Supplement of Mr. *Batteley*'s Hiſtory of that Church, *p.* 9.) that upon the Reſtoration he was preferr'd to that Prebend for his Loyalty, that he enjoyed it above forty Years, and dying *Anno* 1700 in the eighty ſecond Year of his Age, left eighty Pounds a Year for ever for the Maintenance of Clergymen's Widows.

[h] In the Catalogue of the ejected Heads of Colleges, Fellows, &c. ſubjoin'd to *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, there is mention of one *Chamberlaine*, Senior Fellow of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*, who probably was the Perſon here ſpoken of, being of the ſame Univerſity, and moſt likely one that had ſuffered for his Loyalty, or he had not obtained the King's *Mandat* for his Degree: But his Chriſtian Name being not ſet down in that Catalogue of Sufferers, I cannot be certain.

formed

formed the Exerciſe required by the Univerſity, or according to [i] Cuſtom gave ſufficient Caution, that they would perform it within the Year; leſt they ſhould make an ill Precedent for others, who might afterwards abuſe the Royal Favour to the Prejudice of the Univerſity. Indeed if all that were afterwards Candidates for that Degree, had followed their Example, the Univerſity had not had ſo much Reaſon to complain of her Sons ſeizing upon her Honours, whether they deſerv'd them or no.]

It being the Cuſtom of the Univerſity, that whoever would qualify himſelf for a Doctor in Divinity's Degree, ſhould undertake ſcholaſtically to explain and determine ſome Theological Queſtion in the publick

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[i] That always was the Cuſtom of the Univerſity, and ſtill is; and accordingly in the King's *Mandat* abovementioned for conferring the Degree of Doctor of Divinity on theſe Perſons, there is inſerted the following Clauſe [They promiſing to keep their Acts and other Exerciſes belonging to that Degree, within ſome convenient Time of the Year following.] But in ſeveral of the following *Mandats* this Clauſe is left out, and a very different one added. *viz.* [without thoſe previous Uſages and Performances which are ordinarily required, *&c.* and without any ſubſequent Conditions, upon which they ſhall not have Conveniency to attend, *&c.*] and this moſt probably was the Ground of what my Author here adds of the Univerſity's Complaint, that *her Sons ſeized upon her Honours, whether they deſerved them or no.*

Schools,

Schools, Mr. *Barwick* for his Diſſertation[k] on that Occaſion, made choice of the *Theſis* or Poſition following: *Exomologeſin Primitivæ Eccleſiæ eſſe Diſciplinam piam, ejuſque reſtitutionem eſſe maximè optandam:* That is, *That the Method of impoſing Penance, and reſtoring Penitents in the Primitive Church was a godly Diſcipline, and that it is much to be wiſh'd it were reſtored:* For whilſt our miſemploy'd Pretenders to Reformation were labouring with all their might to expunge out of our Liturgy the pious Rites of the ancient Church, and Cuſtoms in the daily Sacrifice hitherto obtaining among us: Mr. *Barwick* on the contrary with no leſs Induſtry endeavour'd to kindle in Men's Minds the Sparks of Primitive Piety, and if not to call back to his own Times that moſt wholſome Diſcipline, which had ſo long been piouſly and ardently deſir'd by the Church of *England* (a Thing that appertain'd neither to his Station, nor

[k] Though I publiſhed this Diſſertation in the Latin Edition, I did not think it proper to tranſlate it here; for beſides that the Subject is rather too Scholaſtically treated for our Language, I could not judge it meet to put into *Engliſh* a Diſcourſe, meerly for the Sake of which the Author thought fit to write the whole Life in *Latin*, as he tells us by and by, *p.* 286, 287.

to

to his Subject) yet at leaſt to prove it from the ancient Monuments of the Church, to explain and recommend it to his pious Auditors, and pray for all Succeſs to its being happily reſtor'd: For he thought it by all Means proper to appeal to that lively vigorous Chriſtianity of the Primitive Times, when Piety towards God, Reverence to the pious Governors of the Church, Faith and Allegiance to the moſt Auguſt Emperors of the civil Government, and mutual Charity amongſt Brethren conſpir'd in an indiſſoluble League together. Nor indeed after ſuch inexpreſſible Mercies receiv'd from the Hands of the Almighty, could he conceive that any Thing ordinary or vulgar in the Practice of Religion, much leſs what had neither Force nor Spirit, could beſeem the Church of *England*. And this Diſſertation of his having merited the Praiſe of his learned Auditors, who were the beſt Judges, I was not willing, that even ſo ſmall a Remain of this excellent Perſon ſhould be loſt. Indeed it was chiefly for the ſake of this Piece, little as it is, that (being deſir'd by ſome of the moſt religious and moſt learned Governors of the Church to take care to preſerve it) I reſolv'd to write the Au-

thor's Life in Latin, that I might not be oblig'd to compoſe the ſame Hiſtory in a Language not every where the ſame.

The Subject of this Hiſtory, now Dr. *Barwick*, returning from *Cambridge* to *London*, found the Miniſters of State, and the Governors of the Church very intent upon reſtoring to every Cathedral a Dean and Chapter, by whoſe ſolemn Choice a new Biſhop might after the accuſtomed Rite be elected into every See then vacant. And while the King gave order to find out fit Perſons to fill thoſe Places, Dr. *Barwick* eaſily obtain'd, that that grave Divine and honeſt Man Mr. *Thomas*[1] *Fothergil* formerly his Tutor at *Cambridge*, to whoſe Inſtructions he owed his Capacity to ſerve his Majeſty, might be advanced to a Prebend in the Cathedral of *York*; being far more ſolicitous to gain ſome Preferment in the Church for one, to whom he had been ſo much indebted, than for himſelf: But as that good old Man by Letter returned him his hearty Thanks, for this Favour, though not very conſiderable, beſtow'd on him be-

[1] See above, *p.* 9.

yond

yond his Expectation; ſo through the very great Love he had for the Doctor, he did not ceaſe to adviſe him, and that in more Letters than one, to take Care not of his Friends only, but alſo of himſelf; for he deſir'd him to remember, that an Exceſs of Modeſty was equally blameable with too much Craving and Importunity: Nay ſome, ſays he, will poſſibly be apt to condemn as faulty even a virtuous laudable Modeſty, and to cenſure him of ſlighting his Majeſty's Favour, who is too much afraid of ſeeming to importune him. But Dr. *Barwick*, not only when his Reverend Tutor, but when many others of his Friends enquired of him, not without Concern, what Share in this publick Diſtribution of the Royal Bounty he was like to have, who had done ſuch eminent Service, and ſuffered ſo much Hardſhip; was us'd to anſwer, that it was abundantly enough for him, that after ſuch a Series of Calamities, he had lived to ſee the King reſtor'd to his Throne, Liberty to his Country, and Right to every one; and that there was no need at all, that he ſhould be importunate with, or troubleſome to his moſt bountiful Prince, who had many Perſons of great Worth, that had

had deſerv'd very well of the Church and of his Majeſty, and had therefore ſome Title to his Favour; on whom he might beſtow Eccleſiaſtical Dignities more conveniently: That himſelf was ſufficiently provided for by the Munificence of his excellent Patron the Biſhop of *Durham*; and that now the ancient Laws were reſtor'd, and under the Royal Protection were in full Force, he deſir'd nothing more, than by his Majeſty's Favour to be maintained in his Right, from which the Iniquity of the Times had debarr'd him: For that excellent Prelate had beſtow'd on this his moſt dear Chaplain, not only a [m] Prebend in

[m] *About the Time* (ſays Mr. *Wood*, Faſti Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 732.) *as 'tis ſaid, that he took his Bachelor of Divinity's Degree*, that is, towards the end of the Year 1645. This was probably the Prebend of the eighth Stall; and Dr. *Walker* obſerves, that he occurs in that as well as in the fourth, in which the Doctor records him as a Sufferer (*Sufferings of the Clergy, Part* 2. *p.* 20.) But whereas Dr. *Walker* is at a Loſs to know, which of thoſe two Prebends, that of the fourth or the eighth Stall Dr. *Barwick* had firſt, and whether any one ſucceeded him in the latter, and was alſo a Sufferer in that; my worthy Friend Mr. *Baker* informs me, from Mr. *Willis*'s Catalogue, that *Robert, Brother to the Lord* Grey *of* Werk, *ſucceeded* John Barwick *as Prebend of the eighth Stall in the Church of* Durham, and ſo was the other Sufferer there, though he afterwards enjoyed that Prebend many Years, having lived to a very advanced Age. Dr. *Grey*'s Admiſſion and Inſtitution to it is placed in that

in the Church of *Durham*, but alſo two very rich Benefices not far diſtant from thence, one the Rectory of *Wolſingham*, the

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Catalogue at the Year 1652, and both that Catalogue and Dr. *Walker* makes Mr. *Barwick* to have removed to the fourth Stall upon the Death of Dr. *Carr*; the Catalogue alſo expreſly aſſigns that Removal to the Year 1644, which is above a Year before Mr. *Wood* ſuppoſes he had any Prebend at all in that Church. It is difficult to come to any Certainty in this Matter for want of a Regiſter at *Durham* during thoſe Times: But Dr. *Carr* having ſucceeded to the fourth Stall upon the Deprivation of *Peter Smart*, A. M. *Anno* 1631, and *Smart* having been reſtored to it by the Lords upon Dr. *Carr*'s Death, as Dr. *Coſins* informs us in his *Anſwer* to Mr. *Fuller*'s *Charge* (*Heyl. Exam. Hiſtor.* p. 291.) and that in the beginning of the Long Parliament (*Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 11.) Though the Proceeding of the Lords in reſtoring one, who had been deprived for ſeditious Preaching and Non-conformity by his Majeſty's High Commiſſion Court at *York* (*Wood ibid.*) might not be very regular; yet it can hardly be ſuppoſed, either that Biſhop *Morton* would fill his Prebend, or Mr. *Barwick* accept it on a broken Title, by quitting another, whilſt *Smart* was living. Indeed Mr. *Wood* (*ibid. Col.* 12.) places Mr. *Smart*'s Death at the Year 1642. But Mr. *Baker* aſſures me, that is a Miſtake; for that he is ſure he was living, *February* 16, 1643; nay has noted him as yet ſurviving, *October* 12, 1647, being then eighty Years of Age, and having done me the Favour to write to *Durham* about this Matter, is farther aſſured from a Friend there, that he had ſeen a Letter under *Smart*'s own Hand, dated *October* 30, 1648, and has moreover an Account from thence (not upon very ſure Grounds) that he lived to the Year 1652, or near it. This agrees with the Time aſſigned by Mr. *Willis*'s Catalogue for Dr. *Grey*'s Admiſſion to the eighth Stall, which Mr. *Barwick* moſt probably did not leave, till he removed to the fourth, and that being moſt likely alſo about this Time; if it was not, as is moſt probable, till after *Smart*'s Death, the Miſtake of placing it after the Death of Dr. *Carr*, muſt proceed from an Overſight of Mr. *Smart*'s being reſtored after Dr. *Carr*'s Death.

* other

other that of *Houghton in le Spring*, which latter had been long ſince enjoy'd by a Perſon moſt eminent for his great Sanctity, the Reverend Mr. [n] *Benjamin Gilpin*. He added, that he whom God by his Goodneſs, in delivering him from ſo many Misfortunes, had claim'd to himſelf, was now ſo little

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[n] Born of an ancient and honourable Family at *Kentmeire* in *Weſtmorland Anno* 1517, became a poor ſerving Child of *Queen's* College in *Oxford*, *Anno* 1533, and was made Fellow of that College about the Time of his proceeding Maſter of Arts, then eſteemed a good Diſputant in Logick and Philoſophy, and well read in Greek and Hebrew: So eminent for his Learning, that he was made choice of to be one of the firſt Maſters to ſupply *Chriſt Church*, when firſt founded for a Dean, Canons, and Students by King *Henry* the Eighth. His Uncle *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham* ſoon ſent him thence to travel, and after his return, conferr'd on him the Rectory of *Eſington*, with the Archdeaconry of *Durham* annexed, about *Anno* 1556, both which he afterwards changed for this of *Houghton in le Spring*, where for his frequent preaching up and down the Country, he was called the *Northern Apoſtle*, and for his plenteous Almsgiving, *The common Father of the Poor*. On the Death of *Owen Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent him a *Conge d' Elire* for that Biſhoprick, but he refuſed it. He built and endowed a Grammar School at *Houghton*, where he died *March* 4, 1583, and was interr'd in that Church. By his Will, dated *October* 17, 1582. he left half of his Goods to the Poor of that Place, and the other half in Exhibitions to Scholars and Students in *Oxford*. *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 1. *p.* 703. See his Life written by one of his Scholars, *George Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and printed with his Sermon preached before King *Edward* the Sixth, *Anno* 1552: Firſt printed in Latin under the following Title, *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri ſanctiſſimi, famaque apud Anglos Aquilonares celeberrimi. London* 1628, 4to; publiſhed afterwards in *Engliſh London* 1636, 8vo; and again in *Latin* in Dr. *William Bates*'s Collection of Lives, *London* 1681, 4to.

his own Maſter, that if he thought he could be more ſerviceable to the Church in a Living of leſs Value, he would willingly reſign either or both theſe.

But although Dr. *Barwick* did not fill the King's Ears with his own Merits, yet many others, beſides thoſe abovementioned, appeal'd to that great Credit he had with his Majeſty, for the Service they had done their Country. Among theſe was Mr. *Francis Creſſet* mention'd above with great Honour, who either relying upon the Conſcience of his own extraordinary Merit, or truſting to the Solicitations of a certain moſt noble [o] Earl, thought he had no Occaſion for Dr. *Barwick*'s Teſtimonial, till almoſt ſix Months after the King's Return, as appears from the Date of this Certificate following.

" Theſe are with all poſſible Duty and " Submiſſion to acquaint the King's moſt " excellent Majeſty, and to certify all others " whom it may concern, that Mr. *Francis* " *Creſſet* did with the utmoſt Fidelity ſerve " the late King, while he was detain'd un-

[o] Probably his own Lord, the Earl of *Pembroke*.

" der

" der the Government of the Army, and
" particularly that he lodged a Cypher with
" his Majeſty, when the Penalty of High-
" Treaſon was denounced againſt any ſuch
" Attempt; by which Cypher I wrote to
" the King every Week, and gave him an
" Account of his Affairs then tranſacting
" both in *England* and *Scotland*. Theſe
" Letters Mr. *Creſſet* delivered to his Ma-
" jeſty with all Secrecy and Faithfulneſs,
" and alſo ſent back his Majeſty's Orders
" and Commands in anſwer thereunto. And
" this I certify of my own perfect Know-
" ledge, being ready to give a fuller Teſti-
" mony concerning this and other Services
" faithfully performed by him, whenever
" his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe. In Witneſs where-
" of I have ſet my Hand this 10th Day of
" *October*, *A. D.* 1660.

John Barwick.

Indeed Dr. *Barwick* made little Doubt, but his Friend Mr. *Creſſet* had long before partaken of his Majeſty's Bounty, having deſerv'd ſo well of the Royal Martyr. Not contented therefore to have given the worthy Gentleman this Teſtimonial, he haſtens

to wait upon the King in Perſon, and confirm by Word of Mouth what he had written on his Behalf; and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to reward his eminent Service. It was no little Concern to the King, to have been acquainted with Mr. *Creſſet*'s Merit ſo late, when now after ſo long Time there was ſcarce any Place left, either in the Government or in the Court, wherewith to recompence this Gentleman's Fidelity: Yet his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, he would take Care, that if it would be acceptable to him, he ſhould have ſome Place in the Family of the Queen, then expected to arrive ſoon. After this his Majeſty ask'd Dr. *Barwick* many Queſtions concerning the Deſigns in thoſe Times privately carried on for his Service; and being graciouſly pleas'd to ſend for Mr. *Creſſet*, he kindly reproved him for not employing Dr. *Barwick* ſooner to recommend him. But, ſays his Majeſty, if any Thing be yet left, after ſo many Grants made on all Sides to my Friends, by which I can reward you, I deſire you would not thank me for it, ſo much as your Friend Dr. *Barwick*, who has been very importunate with me not to forget

you,

you, at the ſame Time that he has never ask'd the leaſt Thing for himſelf, though he has deſerv'd very well from me. Yet from theſe Applications to his Majeſty, Dr. *Barwick* incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of ſome Perſons at Court; as if he had meddled in other Men's Buſineſs, though all the Concern he had therein was only to perform as well his Engagements to thoſe, who had deſerv'd the King's Favour, as his Duty and Promiſe to his Majeſty himſelf.

About the ſame Time that theſe Matters were tranſacting, the chief of thoſe who had conſpir'd againſt the ſacred Life of the Royal Martyr were brought to their Trial, and deſervedly condemn'd to the Gallows. By the Command of the King and of the Biſhops, Dr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Dolben* (at the writing of this Life Archbiſhop of *York*) were ſent to theſe condemn'd Wretches, to try to perſuade them to teſtify an unfeigned Repentance before God, both of that horrid Crime, and of their other impious Deeds: And that they might employ their pious Endeavours to better Purpoſe with the others, their firſt Care was to ſolicite *Hugh Peters*, the Principal and Ringleader of all the reſt. The wild Prophecies ut-

tered by his impure Mouth were ſtill receiv'd by the People with the ſame Veneration, as if they had been Oracles; tho' he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of Wickedneſs: a Fact which *Milton* himſelf (a very good Advocate for a very bad Cauſe) did not dare to deny, when he purpoſely wrote his Apology for this very end, to defend even by Name (as far as was poſſible) the very blackeſt of the Conſpirators, and *Hugh Peters* among the chief of them, who were by Name accus'd of manifeſt Impieties by their Adverſaries. The ſame Day that this Office was order'd to be diſcharg'd by theſe holy Men, one *Hulet* was brought to the Bar, ſuſpected to have been one of the two mask'd Executioners hired to murther the King, and on that Account arraigned of High Treaſon. *Hugh Peters* alſo, among his other Crimes, was upon no ſlight Grounds accuſed to have been one of thoſe Murtherers in Diſguiſe, though it could not be ſufficiently prov'd againſt him. Therefore Dr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Dolben* were commanded by his Majeſty to uſe all their Endeavours to prevail with him, that if he knew any thing of that Matter, he would make no Scruple

to

to confeſs it, in favour of an innocent Perſon, and thereby deliver, as he ought, that *Hulet* or any one elſe, perhaps undeſervedly ſuſpected of that atrocious Crime, from ſuffering Death for it. When Dr. *Barwick* came to him firſt, commiſerating his ſad Condition, though what he had very juſtly deſerv'd, he thought it moſt proper to addreſs himſelf to him in Terms neither menacing nor any way ſevere: He therefore condeſcended to intreat him to make no Difficulty of admitting him and Dr. *Dolben*, both Miniſters of the Goſpel, and no leſs ſolicitous for his Salvation than for their own, to a friendly Converſation with him. But to all that was ſaid to him, though with the utmoſt Candor, he anſwered with ſo much Surlineſs, Negligence, and Stupidity, and ſo little to the Purpoſe, that Dr. *Dolben* perceiving how little that gentle Method avail'd, was of Opinion, and that juſtly, that he ought to be treated with more Sharpneſs, to rouſe him, if it were poſſible, from this Lethargick Unconcernedneſs for his better Part. He therefore adviſ'd him to remember, that he had but a few Hours left, to diſcharge himſelf before God (who is always preſent and merciful

to the Penitent) of that immenſe Load of Wickedneſs wherewith he had burthen'd his Conſcience, drowſy and harden'd as it was; that thoſe precious Minutes were not by any Means to be waſted in Shuffling, and ſaying what was nothing to the Purpoſe; and that he ought to think it a Matter of no little Moment, in what manner he intended the next Day to tranſmit his Soul into an unfathomable Abyſs of Eternity. But he was deaf to all that either of them could ſay, and had ſo ſtop'd his Ears againſt the Admonitions not only of theſe two excellent Perſons, but of thoſe alſo who were his Accomplices in the ſame Crime, and were to ſuffer with him; and had ſo perfectly ſhook off all Senſe of Piety and Religion (if ever he had any) that they earneſtly requeſted theſe Divines to intercede with his Majeſty, that a Perſon ſo deaf to all Advice, and ſo impenetrable to their ſacred Miniſtrations, might not be hurried into another World, till he were brought, if poſſible, to a better Senſe of his Condition. The chief of theſe was *John Cook*, who yet had made no Scruple that very Day to vindicate and defend this Wretch, in reality the Scandal and Reproach of the Pulpit,

Pulpit, againſt that incomparable Divine Dr. *Gunning*, when he was admoniſhing him friendly of the Heinouſneſs of the Crimes he had committed; and to extol him as the brighteſt Example of true Holineſs, by whom more Souls had been gain'd to Chriſt, than by any other Perſon in this Age. But Dr. *Dolben* and Dr. *Barwick* did not dare to promiſe, that they ſhould be able to obtain of his Majeſty any farther Reſpite of his Execution; leſt that being flatter'd with the falſe Hope of protracting his Life, he ſhould grow more obdurate to their ſacred Admonitions: Nor, ſay they, does the Grace of the holy Spirit ſtand in need of ſuch ſlow Methods, as not readily to offer itſelf every Hour to ſuch as deſire to repent in earneſt. Accordingly the next Day, together with *Cook*, he was drawn upon a Sledge to Execution, ſtill ſhewing the utmoſt Averſion to all good Counſel, and even to the Advice of *Cook* himſelf, ſeeming to believe very little in that God, whom he had ſo often invoked to patronize his impious Rebellion: Having this however (alas! how little this) of a good Man, that he no longer endeavour'd with a falſe Pretence of Sanctity to ſet a Grace upon the worſt Cauſe in the World.

In

In what is ſaid above we have had a very illuſtrious Teſtimony given by his Majeſty himſelf, how much more earneſtly Dr. *Barwick* proſecuted the Intereſt of others than his own; and this will farther appear from what I am yet to ſay: For when the Right Honourable the Counteſs Dowager of *Derby* deſir'd him to give up the Right he had to the Biſhoprick of the Iſle of *Man*; ſince, as ſhe ſaid, he might hope for better Preferment from his Majeſty; and her Ladyſhip was very deſirous, if he would give Way, to prefer her Chaplain Mr. *Samuel* [p] *Rutter* to that Dioceſe; Dr. *Barwick* readily complied with her Requeſt, much rejoic'd that it was in his Power to oblige ſo great a Perſon. And indeed his moſt excellent Majeſty thought it proper to promote him to

[p] Mr. *Sacheverel* in his Account of the Iſle of *Man* (p. 118.) tells us, Mr. *Rutter* was ſworn Biſhop *Anno* 1661: That he had been Archdeacon of *Man*, and governed the Church with great Prudence during the late Wars: That he was a Man of exemplary Goodneſs and Moderation, and ſat Biſhop to the Year 1663, and was then ſucceeded by Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and thereupon obſerves Mr. *Wood*'s Miſtake, who (*Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 658.) makes that See to have lain void from the Death of Biſhop *Parr* (which happened in the Time of the Uſurpation) to the Year 1662, and Dr. *Barrow* to have been the firſt Biſhop there after the Reſtoration.

a higher

a higher Degree in the Church, than he had hitherto enjoy'd: For he would by all Means have advanc'd him to the See of *Carliſle*; but that Dr. *Barwick* earneſtly entreated, he might be excus'd not accepting this Royal Favour, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſome (ſuch was his great Modeſty) to have a little gratified his own Ambition (as was obſerved above) in his zealous Endeavours to preſerve the Epiſcopal Succeſſion among us: He being therefore unwilling to be advanced higher than the Degree of a Presbyter, ſince there were not wanting Men of great Worth, who could bear the Weight of the Epiſcopal Office with leſs Envy, as he imagin'd, than he; his Majeſty, in Regard of what he had deſerved from him, as well as from the Church, was pleaſed to promote him to the Deanery [q] of *Durham*. He took Poſſeſſion of that Deanery on the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, *Anno* 1660, reſerving to himſelf out of the late Biſhop's Munificence only the Rectory of *Houghton*, diſtant from *Durham* but four Miles; leſt he ſhould ſeem

[q] Which had been vacant ſome Time on the Death of Dr. *William Fuller*, which happened *May* 12, 1659. *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 729.

to

to be too much wanting to the Care of Souls, for which he was firſt initiated into holy Orders. At *Durham* he enjoy'd a very large Revenue, wherewith he both repair'd the publick Buildings ſacrilegiouſly ruin'd, and relieved the Poor, and kept Hoſpitality, entertaining Strangers of all Ranks, not delicately indeed (which he never affected) yet handſomely and generouſly. But above all Things his chief Care was, that God's moſt pure Worſhip ſhould be celebrated with the utmoſt Decency (which by the Rage of the Fanaticks had been long aboliſhed both at *Durham* and *Houghton*) and that a Biſhop ſhould be choſen for the Conſolation of the Widow Church. His next Concern was, that all the Prebendal Houſes, and eſpecially the decayed Fabrick of the Cathedral, ſhould not only be every Way ſecur'd againſt the Injuries of the Weather, but alſo embelliſh'd with ſuch Ornaments, as became the Houſe of God. He took Care likewiſe to erect a Grammar School from the Ground, and make it a Nurſery of good Literature: He brought Water into the College to ſupply the Occaſions of all the Prebendaries Houſes: He took upon himſelf with great Readineſs and

Affection,

Affection, and with a moſt holy Zeal, both to bring all the Officers of the Church under good Diſcipline, and to a regular Life, and to augment the Stipends and Salaries of the poorer Sort, not only of the Mother Church, but of all the Churches which depended upon it: And the venerable Chapter not only gave their Conſent to all this, but moſt readily join'd their helping Hand to promote it. [Yet they were ſo far from exacting in the Matter of Fines upon ſuch as had Leaſes of the Church Lands, and were ſo beneficent to all the Poor, that in an Age very little favourable to the Clergy, they are mentioned with Honour to this Day for their Humanity, Candor, and Piety. Nay in many Caſes they were ſo bountiful, as to recede from their own Right in favour of their Succeſſors, that the Revenues of the Church might deſcend to them with ſome Augmentation.] But how much even in a few Months they deſerved of that preſent Age, and how much of Poſterity, will appear more evidently from the Things done about that Time, and regiſter'd in the Archives of the Church of *Durham*, than from any Thing I can ſay of them. But the Regiſter of that Church, who had ſurviv'd the

the late Troubles, being uncapable of performing his Office for want of underſtanding Latin, the Trouble of regiſtring the Orders of the Chapter lay generally upon Dr. *Barwick* alone, who perform'd the Office not only of the Dean, but of the Regiſter, though he enjoy'd but a mean Share of Health during that whole Winter. So unwilling was he at any Time to ſpare himſelf, where it was in his Power to ſerve the Church; and ſo careful that nothing ſhould be tranſmitted to Poſterity, which could in the leaſt reflect on that Fidelity, wherewith he adminiſter'd his great Charge in the Church. And indeed that Cathedral ſtood in the utmoſt Need of ſuch a Dean and Chapter; for beſides the common Sacrilege of the *Engliſh* Enthuſiaſts, whereby all the Churches, eſpecially the Cathedrals, were almoſt ruined; that of *Durham* had moreover frequently felt the deadly Hands of the *Scots*, and ſuffer'd more ſeverely from the Conquered, than from the Conquerors: For by *Cromwell*'s Order, the *Scotch* Priſoners taken at *Dunbar*[1] Fight, were confin'd in

[1] This Battel was fought *September* $\frac{3}{3}$, 1650, by General *Leſley*,

in this Auguſt Sanctuary, till, to preſerve themſelves from the Cold of the Winter, whereby they muſt otherwiſe have periſhed, they had been forc'd to make Fires of all the Wood-work therein, which they were able to pull down. But theſe Undertakings were too great for Dr. *Barwick* to ſee finiſhed, while he enjoy'd the Deanery of *Durham:* For before the Year was expir'd, the Governors of the Church, by his Majeſty's Command, ſent for him up to *London*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Deanery of St. *Paul's*, which then happen'd to be vacant [f]; as a Perſon not unfit to contribute ſomething to the Reparation of the immenſe Ruins of that Cathedral. It is well known to every one, that if Dr. *Barwick* had regarded his own private Intereſt and Advantage, he would not have accepted this new Deanery, where there was neither Houſe nor Furni-

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Leſley at the Head of 20000 *Scots* againſt *Cromwell*, and between 16000 and 17000 *Engliſh* Rebels, who obtained a complete Victory, killed three thouſand, and took ten thouſand Priſoners. See *P. D'Orleans Hiſt. des Revolut.* &c. liv. x. *p.* 202, 204.

[f] On the Death of Dr. *Matthew Nicholas*, LL. D. who had a Grant of this Deanery from King *Charles* the Firſt, which becauſe of the Confuſion of thoſe Times not taking Effect till after the Reſtoration, was then confirmed by King *Charles* the Second, *July* the 10th, 1660, and he inſtall'd the ſame Day. *Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Anglic. p.* 185.

ture, but what was either hir'd or bought, in Exchange for that other, where neither was wanting. And indeed in anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage he wrote expreſly, that he knew very well, the Dignity whereto he was going to be promoted, was both of leſs Value than that he muſt relinquiſh, and of greater Care and Trouble; and that what he then enjoy'd was ſo agreeable to him, that if it were at his Option, he would not quit it for the greateſt Dignity in the Church, much leſs for that he was then commanded to accept; yet that he receiv-ed his Majeſty's Commands with the utmoſt Veneration, and ſhould willingly comply with the Orders of his Superiors in the Church. But though he was not much ad-dicted to his own private Gain; yet was he not very eaſily torn away from the North, which was always dear to him, and where he was much beloved; nor from that vene-rable College of his Brethren, to which he had engag'd himſelf in the ſtricteſt Ties of Love and Friendſhip. In the Number of thoſe whom he left with Reluctance was Mr. *Richard* † *Wrench*, formerly a great Ho-nour

† A Native of the City of *Cheſter*, choſen Fellow of the College,

nour and Ornament to St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, before the late Deſtruction of the Univerſity, with whom from his younger Years he had in ſome Meaſure grown old in the ſame Studies of Piety and Learning, and whom he had always from his Youth eſteem'd as an own Brother; there was ever ſuch a Reſemblance between them in their Manners. The Concern he had to part with this worthy Perſon, and the reſt of his Reverend Brethren was afterwards not a little abated by that Friendſhip and brotherly good Will which he moſt religiouſly cultivated with others in St. *Paul*'s Church, but eſpecially with that moſt excellent and venerable old Man, Dr. [u] *Thomas Turner*, as

College, *April* 5, 1636, at the ſame Time with his Friend Mr. *John Barwick* and Mr. *William Lacy*; ejected by the Earl of *Mancheſter April* 8, 1644, being then Bachelor of Divinity. At the Reſtoration, finding a worthy Man in his Fellowſhip, he would not diſturb him. He was afterwards made Prebendary of *Durham*, and Rector of *Bolden* in that County. Mr. *Baker*, who remembers him, ſays he was an excellent good Man, an Encourager of Learning, would often come into their School at *Durham*, and examine the Scholars, and always allotted one Day for their Entertainment, during his Month of Reſidence. See Dr. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Part 2. p. 149.

[u] Son of *Thomas Turner* of *Heckfield* in the County of *Southampton*, Alderman and Mayor of *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, born in the Pariſh of St. *Giles*'s in that Borough (about *Anno* 1593) admitted Scholar of St. *John*'s College in *Oxford* (*June* 26,) 1610,

as zealous an Aſſertor, as he, of the publick Good.

[It is the Cuſtom of the Church of *Durham* (contrary to that of almoſt all other Churches) that in letting Leaſes of the Lands belonging in particular either to the Dean or to any one of the Prebendaries, they ſuffer nothing of their yearly Value to be diminiſh'd (as is uſual) for a conſiderable term of Years, in Conſideration of a large Fine paid down: And by this Means it comes to

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under the Tuition of Mr. *William Juxon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Becoming a practical uſeful Preacher, much followed by all the Orthodox, he was made Domeſtick Chaplain to Biſhop *Laud*, Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the Firſt, Canon Reſidentiary of St. *Paul's*, *October* 29, 1629, and Dean of *Rocheſter*, *February* 26, 1641. Soon after he was ſequeſter'd from his Church of St. *Olave* in *Southwark*, plundered, carried away Priſoner by a Party of Horſe, and forced to fly for his Life. In 1643 he was made Dean of *Canterbury*, but not reſtored to the Profits of it till *Auguſt* 10, 1660. He died *October* 8, 1672, in the eighty firſt Year of his Age, and was interr'd in that Cathedral. *Wood Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *p.* 876, 877. Dr. *Walker reckons it a ſingular Reward from God, for his great Sufferings, and his Affection to the Church of* England, *that he was bleſſed with two ſuch Sons as Dr.* Francis Turner *ſometime Biſhop of* Ely, *and Dr.* Thomas Turner, *late Preſident of* Corpus-Chriſti *College in* Oxford (Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 6.) The Doctor might have mentioned a third Son of his, alſo Doctor of Divinity, Dr. *William Turner*, ſometime Archdeacon of *Northumberland* (*Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 892.) all three by his Wife *Margaret*, Daughter of Sir *Francis Windebank*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* the Firſt. See his Epitaph publiſhed in the *Appendix* to the Supplement of Mr. *Battely's* Hiſtory of the Church of *Canterbury*, p. 7.

paſs,

paſs, that their Benefices deſcend to their Succeſſors full as much in Value, as they receiv'd them from their Predeceſſors. But the Farms which belong to [w] the whole Church in general are let after the common Cuſtom of other Churches; which in that ruined State of Things, if ever elſe, ſeem'd altogether neceſſary.]

But after Dr. *Barwick* had Notice, that he was ſoon to leave *Durham*, he put a Stop to all leaſing of Farms (even ſomewhere the Fine had been already agreed upon between the Chapter and the Tenants) that the Revenue of the Deanery might come more intire to his Succeſſor [x], who was ſoon to take Poſſeſſion of it; yet he would not ſuffer the leaſt Stop to be put, either to the regular Celebration of Divine Service at the appointed Hours three Times

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[w] The Chapter Lands, ſuch as belong to the Body in common, are let here, as in other Churches, by a Leaſe of twenty one Years, on a Fine payable every ſeven. So every Corps in other Churches, or the Lands peculiar to each Prebendary, are leas'd either for three Lives, or twenty one Years, and a Fine paid every ſeven Years, or as often as a Life drops: But in the Church of *Durham* each Corps is let, as Gentlemen let their Eſtates, or Parſons their Glebe, at a Rack Rent, without any Fine, and at as high a yearly Value as they can.

[x] Dr. *John Sudbury*, nominated in *October* 1661, and inſtall'd *February* 15 following. *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 732.

a Day, at which himſelf was always preſent; or to the courteous Entertainment at his own Table of ſuch Strangers as were at Prayers; or to his bountiful Diſtribution of Alms to the Poor; or to the haſtening, as much as was poſſible, the publick Works lately begun; or laſtly, to the making up of the Church Accounts with all Clearneſs, Diſtinctneſs, and Perſpicuity; that he who was to be next promoted to this Charge and Dignity, might find nothing in them either perplex'd, uncertain, or confus'd, nor tranſmit any Thing of that Nature to future Ages. Together with the Deanery of *Durham*, Dr. *Barwick* voluntarily reſign'd the Rectory of *Houghton*, which he had then enjoy'd a Year; and that though by the Laws he might have held it longer, and was by ſome preſs'd ſo to do, at leaſt till he ſhould have diſcharg'd himſelf of ſeveral Repairs in the Church Buildings, and of his Majeſty's firſt Fruits which were not ſmall, and one half thereof, exceeding fifty five Pounds, at that Time ſtill due: But he choſe rather to have held this Benefice till then to his own Loſs, than to expoſe himſelf and his Order to ſuch a Reproach, as that he ſheer'd his deareſt Flock, when he

was at too great a Diſtance conveniently to feed them.

About the middle of *October* 1661, Dr. *Barwick* undertook this new and difficult Charge, with a Habit of Body broken by Care and Pains, but with a Mind ſufficiently rais'd: His firſt Care at *London* was, what it had been alſo at *Durham*, to reſtore the Celebration of Divine Service by the ſacred Muſick of a Choir, which had for I know not what Reaſon been hitherto omitted. [Some ſay that the Dean his Predeceſſor had till then purpoſely abſtained from that Method of Celebration, in Hopes by little and little thereby to abate the Envy of the Sectaries. But their Envy at that Time did not ſeem to be of ſuch Moment, if an Eſtimate thereof were made from the Force they were able to exert in the then late Elections of Parliament Men. Beſides that ſo good a Man, as we muſt think that Dean was, is reverenc'd even by ſuch as are bad. It ſeems more probable, that this and ſome other Things, which might have been for the Service of the Church, were omitted by that excellent Perſon, only becauſe of his ill Health: For he died within

leſs [y] than a Year after he took Poſſeſſion of the Deanery. It is certain Dr. *Barwick* was not much concern'd for the Envy of the Sectaries, if he lay under it. What affected him a great deal more was, that he found the College of Minor Canons to that Time, not only negligent of God's Worſhip, but fill'd with Men for the greateſt part very unfit at leaſt to celebrate it in a Church one of the moſt renown'd in the whole Chriſtian World. The Number of thoſe Canons in this College is twelve; and it is endow'd with a particular Revenue ſufficient, if duly managed, to maintain them. Of this Number, after the Civil War, there was only one left, who had been fully and abſolutely admitted into the Right of a Canon. But there were two others, who according to the Cuſtom of this College had been admitted only for a Year of Probation, after the Expiration of which, if they were not approv'd of by all the reſt of their Collegues, and by the Dean, with the unani-

[y] In little more than a Year, if Mr. *Le Neve*'s Account from *Newport*'s Repertory be right, who ſays he was inſtall'd *July* 10. 1660, and died *Auguſt* 14, 1661. *Faſt. Eccl. Angl.* p. 385.

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mous Conſent of the Chapter, admitted into an abſolute Right of the Society (neither of which had been done in their Caſe) they could not be taken into any Share of the Management of the College Affairs, if they would regulate themſelves by their own Statutes. Yet this only ſurviving Canon (with thoſe two Probationers or Candidates, taken in only to make a ſhew of Collegues) had claim'd to himſelf the Right of the whole Body, had laid his Hands on the greateſt part of the College Revenue, nor admitted any one to ſupply the Number of Canons, but ſuch as would freely conſent to be ſo defrauded. Dr. *Barwick* thought no Pains too much to regulate this Abuſe, and wipe off ſo ſhameful a Blemiſh from the Church. Nor were there wanting among thoſe learned in the Law ſome of great Note, who thought the Matter very practicable; yet what he would at length have been able to do, if he had enjoy'd better Health and longer Life, is not eaſy to conjecture; So hard a Matter it often is to undo what ought not to have been done. Dr. *Barwick* was yet more concern'd for this foul Practice, when he heard that the Man who had taken upon him to ſuſtain the

the whole College in his own Perſon, had never been admitted to Prieſt's Orders, which yet, by the Statutes, all the Canons of this Church are oblig'd to be. It is certain that for thirty Years he had very ſeldom or never been ſeen to perform Divine Service in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral; whether it were thro' Neglect of his holy Office, or that he dreaded (as it was fit he ſhould) to touch what was ſacred with prophane Hands: Yet when the Rebels expos'd a Farm of his College to ſale, he did not dread employing one under-hand to purchaſe it for him: He did not dread in a hoſtile manner ejecting the Tenant of that Farm (though an honeſt Man, who for many Years had lawfully enjoy'd it) and that with no little Loſs both of his Cattle and Goods: He did not dread ſelling the ſame Farm afterwards for his Advantage, and again redeeming it, a moſt impudent Barterer of the ſacred Revenue of the Church, at the ſame Time that he would have been accounted one of her Prieſts. Nay after his Death the Perſon that held this Farm in Truſt for him, was not aſham'd to ſolicite the Chapter then reſtor'd to its Rights, to poſtpone the ancient rightful Tenant, and admit him, as having a juſt

a juſt and lawful Title to the Farm. And indeed he gave Dr. *Barwick* no little Trouble, for preſuming to reject this Requeſt as unreaſonable; and not queſtioning but he had Intereſt enough to raiſe againſt him the Indignation not of the Parliament only, but even of the King, he fill'd all Men's Ears with the moſt unjuſt Complaints againſt him, not to give them a harder Name. Yet Dr. *Barwick*, a rigid Aſſertor of what was right and good, reſolv'd to bear all this Envy, till the Caſe being more fully examin'd, he afterwards happily remov'd it, and obtain'd leave for himſelf and the Chapter to let the Farm to a juſter Tenant. Nor was this the only Inſtance, wherein that Perſon's Covetouſneſs of what belong'd to others, fail'd of the Succeſs he wiſh'd: For beſides that mention'd, there was another Portion of the Church Revenue, which did not ſtick to his pitchy Fingers, namely the Tythes of St. *Gregory's*, which he had got from his Brethren almoſt for nothing, and procur'd to be leas'd out for twenty one Years to the ſame Perſon, whoſe Name he had made uſe of before: Beſides he had contriv'd againſt all Right and Juſtice, and to the Prejudice of his Collegues, to diminiſh

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ſomewhat of the ancient Revenue, which us'd to be paid yearly to his College, though it was before very ſmall. But our Laws are ſo ſevere againſt thoſe that injure the Church in this manner, that they provide no leſs a Puniſhment for ſuch Offenders, than that a Leaſe of that ſort is judged abſolutely null and void, and the Eſtate comes intire to the Succeſſor, to be by him leas'd out at Pleaſure to any one: And the new Dean was ſo much offended with the Greedineſs of this ill Man, that he took effectual Care to obtain that Sentence of the Law againſt him. But though Dr. *Barwick* was ſo ſtrenuous an Aſſertor of the Rights of the Church, that he was not afraid to plead his Cauſe before the publick Judicatories of the Kingdom, nor even before his Majeſty himſelf in Council, as often as he ſaw the Eſtate of his venerable Mother the Church in Danger, which by the Religion of an Oath he had oblig'd himſelf to preſerve untouch'd: Yet he was ſuch a Lover of Peace, that he often yielded up much of his own particular Right; always allowing private Differences to be referr'd to private Arbitration, tho' ſometimes to his own no little Damage.

When

When therefore the Rights of the Church were hardly ſecure enough from thoſe, whom the Church her ſelf had carefully nouriſh'd in her Boſom; how willingly would thoſe without her Pale, who had always openly ſpurn'd at her, their moſt holy Mother, catch at this Opportunity to offer Violence to her? For this Reaſon the Dean thought it proper humbly to implore his Majeſty's Protection on this Occaſion, and to obtain two Royal Grants under the Broad Seal, one for Repairing the decay'd Walls of the Cathedral, the other for taking Care of its Privileges and Immunities, extinguiſh'd in the late Rebellion, and not yet ſufficiently reſtor'd. Nor did he only uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to defend againſt her Enemies the Church under the Divine Providence committed to his Charge; but ſometimes alſo employ'd his Care, that ſhe ſhould not ſuffer by the Imprudence of her Friends; if peradventure they did any Thing with no ill Deſign, which Poſterity might draw into a Precedent to her hurt. Hence it was, that when the Lord Mayor of *London* (while the Dean was in the Country taking the Air for his Health) had order'd himſelf a new Seat to be made in St. *Paul*'s

Church at the Expence of the City; as ſoon as the Dean heard of it, he preſs'd that honourable Perſon, in more than one Letter, to permit the Church, to whom the Care of thoſe Matters properly belong'd, to excuſe the City from that Expence; and took Care, that Copies of the Letters which he wrote upon that Occaſion, were tranſcrib'd into the authentick Regiſters of the Church, leſt poſſibly the City, let into a Miſtake by ſuch a Precedent, might afterwards claim ſome Right in a Church, which, under God and the King, is altogether free.

But to return to the Ruins of this Fabrick. It was evident the Condition thereof was ſo deplorable, as far exceeded the Abilities of the Chapter to repair, and requir'd even at that Time (alas how much more after the dreadful Fire of *London!*) the Aſſiſtance not only of all the Clergy, but of all Orders of Men; eſpecially when every good Man, who had been promoted to any conſiderable Dignity in the Church, had freely and liberally contributed both to the Payment of the publick Debts, and to the Ranſoming of Chriſtian Captives Abroad from the barbarous Tyranny of the *Turks*, and

and alſo to the Relief of the Poor of all ſorts at Home, who were languiſhing up and down almoſt every where. However they that adminiſtred the Affairs of this Church look'd upon it as their Duty eſpecially, more than others, according to their ſeveral Abilities, and in Proportion to what every one had receiv'd from the Church-Revenues, to ſet others an Example of Munificence. Theſe together with the Dean are four, having each an equal Dividend with him of the common Income of the Church. They compaſſionating (as was but meet) the diſmal Eſtate of the Fabrick, did not only by an unanimous Order of Chapter appoint all the Rents of the Houſes lately built in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, both then due, and afterwards as they ſhould become due, to be ſet apart for the Repairs of it; but every [z] one of them likewiſe out of his own Pocket gave five hundred Pounds for the ſame Uſe, when Dr. *Barwick* had been ſo little a while Dean of this Church, as beſides that

[z] Theſe beſides Dr. *Barwick* the Dean, were Dr. *Thomas Turner*, Dr. *John Hacket*, and Dr. *Edward Layfield*. *Synod. Anglican. Append.* p. 61.

Sum

Sum hardly to have receiv'd from its Revenue enough to defray his daily Expences. Little of what belong'd to the Dean in particular happen'd to be leas'd out in his Time, except one Houſe in the City; in letting which he made a conſiderable Abatement to his own Loſs, in favour of a certain Gentleman of *London*, of whom he had formerly receiv'd a hundred Pounds towards his Majeſty's Support in his Exile: For the good Dean was ſo affected with this Inſtance of Piety to his Prince in Diſtreſs, that when the Price agreed for this Houſe did not exceed three hundred Pounds, he yet willingly remitted a third Part thereof to a Perſon that had deſerv'd ſo well of the King and of the Church. There were ſome of the Clergy at that Time (though perhaps undeſervedly) not ſo well ſpoken of upon this Article, as ſeeming more intent on their private Gain, than became that Juncture of Time, and a little too rigid Exactors of their Right, now immediately after ſo great Calamities. But I may venture to ſay, that Dr. *Barwick* never gave any juſt Occaſion for Complaints of this Nature, whether any thing belonging to the Dean in particular were to be leaſed out

out by him alone, or any part of the publick Eſtate of the Church, in Conjunction with the Reſidentiaries. Indeed the Chapter acted ſo generouſly with the learned Society of *London* Phyſicians, that they let them that noble Houſe, where their College us'd to meet, without any Fine; when they might each to his own Share have made a hundred Pounds out of that Leaſe. They only deſir'd, without any Stipulation, that when they ſhould ſee the Repairs of the Cathedral carrying on with any Diligence, they would not ſcruple every one to contribute ſomething to promote ſo charitable a Work; as they hoped many other worthy Perſons would readily do, though under no other Obligations to them, than for their Prayers daily offer'd up to God. For thus they, who had the Care of this Church, thought it moſt proper to diſcharge that Truſt, ſo as not to render themſelves unworthy either of the Eccleſiaſtical Patrimony, or of the Royal Protection, or of every good Man's Approbation and Praiſe; ſtopping the impure Mouths of thoſe envious and malicious Perſons, who are almoſt every where blaſting the Reputation of the Clergy: And as often as their Farms in the

Country were to be viſited, that the Church might ſuffer no Loſs in her Woods, or Lands, or Houſes, the Dean (tho' he enjoy'd but ill Health, and was to make his Progreſs thro' thoſe Parts of *Eſſex*, where the Air is not very wholſome) was not willing that either himſelf or his Brethren ſhould be wanting to this Duty; leſt if they had left an Affair of ſuch Moment to Commiſſioners or other Truſtees (in that State of Things not yet ſufficiently recover'd from the late Diſturbances) whoever they had employ'd might either have been negligent in the Care of what was not their own, or perhaps have dealt more hardly with the Tenants, than had been decent for the Maſters of the Lands themſelves to have done. Nay when he was now ſo ill, that his Friends thought him altogether unfit to take the Journey, and having enter'd upon it, actually began to faint by the Way; yet he was hardly perſuaded to entruſt the Buſineſs with others; he had the Reputation of the Clergy ſo much at Heart, which he tacitly fear'd would ſuffer from the Avarice or Imprudence of one or other.

But among all thoſe religious Deſigns which employ'd his daily Thoughts, there

was

was none he eſteem'd and deſir'd to effect more (even from the Time the Church was firſt reſtor'd, and cleans'd from the Errors which had defil'd it) than that the holy Communion ſhould be oftner adminiſtred in that famous Church committed to his Charge, than it had ever us'd to be hitherto. For he could not but be aſhamed when he read the Rubrick (as many other good Men alſo were) as often as he obſerved, that it is there enjoin'd in expreſs Words, that " in Cathedral and Collegiate " Churches and Colleges, where there are " many Prieſts and Deacons, they ſhall all " receive the Communion with the Prieſt " every *Sunday* at the leaſt, except they " have a reaſonable Cauſe to the contrary." Which moſt wholſome Appointment he ſaw ſo much neglected almoſt every where, that there were far leſs frequent Occaſions, than was meet, of partaking of the myſtical Banquet of Chriſts Body and Blood. Nor was he willing to think ſo hardly and ſo diſhonourably of the greateſt and moſt famous City in the World (wherein he knew many excellent and pious Perſons, utter Enemies to the wild Opinions of the Sectaries) as not to be able to expect from thence a ſufficient

Number of Communicants ready to preſent themſelves at their Lord's holy Table, as often as the Laws of the Church require; eſpecially, if in Sermons the People were diligently admoniſh'd, and clearly inſtructed concerning ſo holy and neceſſary a Duty, ſo agreeable to the Standard of Primitive Piety, and the Example of the Apoſtolick Age. For what Sight could be more worthy of God, Angels, and Men, than after Mercies receiv'd from the Almighty, which no Time ſhould ever efface out of pious Minds, to ſee the People often proſtrate on the holy Pavement, humbly ſtretching out their Hands to God, and out of pure Hearts as it were continually offering him their higheſt Praiſes and Euchariſtick Vows?]

But while Dr. *Barwick* was employ'd in the Diſcharge of this Province, he was called to another and a more ſublime Degree of Dignity, to which the Order of Presbyters in our Church has none equally either illuſtrious or difficult: For by the unanimous Suffrage of all the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* aſſembled in Convocation, he was choſen Preſident of the College of Presbyters, or (as it is commonly call'd)

called) [z] Prolocutor. But the Favour and good Will of thoſe who advanced him to that Dignity, gave him far more Pleaſure, than the Dignity it ſelf; when he found plainly, that ſome whoſe Intereſt it was very much, that the Practice of Religion ſhould be zealouſly promoted, were not yet hearty enough in their Endeavours to reſtore the decay'd Diſcipline of the Church. But if the Convocation had thought fit, they might have conſulted the Reputation of the Clergy better, either by reviving thoſe old Laws, which the late Schiſm had render'd obſolete, or by making new ones, as in their Prudence they ſhould have ſeen Occaſion. But who they were that prevented laying hold of an Opportunity of doing the Church that Service, it is not lawful to conjecture, where the Caſe is invidious, and perhaps

[z] On the 18th of *February* 1661, in the Place of Dr. *Henry Fearne*, on his Promotion to the See of *Cheſter*. *Synod. Anglican. Append. p.* 101. Before this his Majeſty had appointed him one of the nine Aſſiſtants to the twelve Biſhops commiſſion'd to hold a Conference with the like Number of Presbyterian Miniſters upon the Review of the Liturgy, which Conference was held at the Biſhop of *London*'s Lodgings in the *Savoy*.

See the Commiſſion publiſhed at the end of Dr. *Nichols*'s Preface to his *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer*. Edit. in Fol.

not ſufficiently known: Yet this is moſt certain, that his ſacred Majeſty granted this venerable Aſſembly Liberty under the Broad Seal to accompliſh this Work: Nor is it leſs certain, that the Convocation divided itſelf into diverſe Colleges or Committees for carrying it on, and aſſigned each their peculiar Share therein. Yet to the very great Grief of all good Men, theſe Preparations came all to nothing: For the Endeavours of many, though very hearty, were wholly fruſtrated by one or two, on whom this Matter chiefly depended. But this neglect of the Affairs of Religion was Matter of ſo much Anguiſh to Dr. *Barwick*'s pious Mind, that I have heard him give vent to his Grief in Expreſſions to this Purpoſe; that neither the deſperate Diſeaſe he formerly laboured under, nor the Severity of his Confinement, nor Death itſelf, nor the Torture he was often threatned with, were ever ſo grievous to him: For who that was not abſolutely diveſted, I will not ſay of all Religion, but of common Humanity, could with an even Mind have born to ſee expoſed to ſale in the Bookſellers Shops publickly and with Impunity, Principles worthy of the direſt *Anathemas*, ſuch

as

as theſe following, *viz.* [b] That the Murther of the King, and other atrocious Crimes perpetrated by the late Rebels, were Facts done by Perſons not uſing their free Will, but neceſſarily complying with the Will of God; and that God himſelf is both the Author and Perſuader, not only of all Good, but of all Evil; nay that nothing is in its own Nature either good or evil, any farther than as it is forbid or permitted by the municipal Laws of every Government? Under the Shelter and Protection of theſe Principles, ſuch Impiety as hardly any Age had heard of, diſdaining its ſecret Receſſes and Obſcurity, was not aſhamed to put out its dreadful Head, and with great Arrogance ſtalk publickly through the open Streets, as a moſt unlucky Omen, and melancholy preſage of thoſe Calamities which ſoon after followed. Such at that Time was the State of the Church of *England*, that had been toſſed of late by ſo many Waves, had ſtruck on ſo many Sands, been daſhed againſt ſo

[b] See the Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, paſs'd in their Convocation on *July* 21, 1683, againſt certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society.

many Rocks, and when at laſt by the Providence of God ſhe was happily driven to the Harbour, and even there juſt ready to periſh, was imploring Help (alas how in vain!) from her own Sons, who, ſhe made no doubt, were very fit to govern the Helm. For this was but too evident, that there were ſome at that Time, who on the Reſtoration of the Monarchy did not anſwer the Expectation conceived of them under its Oppreſſion, rather chuſing to make waſte of, and deſtroy all the Effects of God's immenſe Bounty, than reap any Advantage for the Times to come from a Succeſs of Affairs, that far ſurpaſs'd all Men's Hopes: So much more difficult it is to bear Proſperity than Adverſity.

By theſe Evils chiefly overcome (as many thought) the Lady *Savile*, that illuſtrious Example of Piety towards God, and Love to her Country, about this Time reſigned her Breath, eaſily yielding to a Diſtemper contracted from her wearineſs of an Age ſo wicked and ſo ungrateful to God, unſhaken as ſhe had ſtood againſt the ſecret Conſpiracies and open Force of the moſt inveterate Enemies of the Crown. When ſhe found her

her Diſeaſe increaſe upon her, leaving the Town, ſhe went to her Houſe at *Wimpble* in *Cambridgeſhire*, and ſent for Dr. *Barwick* to her from *London*, deſirous to make uſe of his pious Miniſtrations in her laſt Extremity, whoſe Conſtancy in both Fortunes ſhe had often experienced, as well as his Counſel in doubtful, and his Fidelity in difficult Affairs: And, a Year and a half after the Reſtoration, ſhe gave up her great and innocent Soul to God.

Not long after her Death, Dr. *Barwick* alſo, from a Diligence in the Management of the Affairs of the Church exerted beyond his Strength, labouring by any Means to remedy the Evils now mentioned, relapſed into his old Diſtemper, which had been ſo near deſtroying him formerly. About the end of *November*, 1662, he began to be very ill, and was ſome Months confined to his Chamber; only that at *Chriſtmas* he would not be wanting to his Cathedral, though his Diſtemper had given him little or no Reſpit: So earneſtly deſirous was he to encourage the Devotion of the Citizens aſſembling themſelves together at the holy Communion, to join in their moſt ſacred Vows, and offer them up to God; with his

his own Hand, though very weak and infirm with his Diſtemper, willingly reaching forth to ſuch as deſired them, the moſt holy Myſteries of our Lord's Paſſion. Nor would he have thought much, if in the Diſcharge of his Office he ſhould have yielded to Mortality, to which even the ſlothful and idle muſt be at laſt obliged to yield. And indeed he paid but too dear for this Zeal for Religion, of which he, that had ſet his Heart ſo much upon Heaven, had yet little Occaſion to repent: For by too much Agitation of the Blood in officiating at the Altar, there ſeemed to be raiſed a mutual Conflict between its ſulphureous and ſaline Particles; from whence he was ſeiz'd with a moſt violent Cough, and a very offenſive Stench of Breath, altogether like that which is uſed to ſtrike the Noſtrils of Chymiſts, when they are preparing what they call *Sal Sulphuris*, and other Salino-ſulphureous Medicaments. This Cough, which grievouſly diſturb'd him Day and Night, was followed with an exceſſive Diſcharge of Blood from his Breaſt, in ſuch Quantities as fill'd whole Baſins. On this deplorable Caſe there was a Conſultation of the moſt eminent Phyſicians, who all agreed,

agreed, that that immoderate Ebullition of Blood was to be aſſwaged by frequent Bleeding, and proper tempering Medicines. But they were not all of one Mind with Regard to what Benefit might be expected from the Change of Air. Some were of Opinion, that, above all Things, he ought to be removed, even at any Seaſon of the Year; from the Air of the City, thicken'd with Salino-ſulphureous Vapours ariſing from the Soot and Smoak of the Coals: Others were afraid, that the Parts about his Breaſt would receive more Damage than Advantage from thinner Air, till it was become more mild and gentle, which could not be expected at Mid-Winter. Dr. *Barwick* himſelf was more inclin'd to the Opinion of the latter, not only becauſe they were Perſons of great Age, and much Experience in Phyſick; but becauſe he himſelf could attend the Affairs of the Church, on which his Thoughts were always employed, more conveniently at Home than Abroad. For it is hardly credible, even after ſo prodigious an Evacuation of Blood, how cheerfully and indefatigably he ſtill laboured in his daily Buſineſs: But at laſt, after many Remedies applied to no Purpoſe, his Strength continually

decaying through an immenſe Loſs of Blood, he removed into the Country, rather forc'd by the Importunity of his Diſtemper, than perſuaded by the Advice of his Friends.

There was no Place he deſir'd to retire to more, than *Therfield* in *Hertfordſhire:* For he had lately taken that Rectory [c], and could have lodg'd there in his own Parſonage-Houſe, ſituated in a very free and pure Air. But his Strength being too far exhauſted to bear ſo long a Journey, and almoſt daily wanting the Help of Phyſicians, which could not be had ſo conveniently at that

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[c] Where (as the preſent worthy Rector of that Church, the very Reverend Dr. *William Sherlock* Dean of *Chicheſter* informed me) there is a Communion Flagon of his Donation, with this Dedicatory Inſcription upon it.

Deo Opt. Max.
Eccleſiæ de Therfield
D. D.
Reverendus Vir Johannes Barwick
Decanus } *Eccleſiæ* { *Paulinæ*
Rector } { *Therfieldianæ*
Tu ne deſpice, Chriſte.

Dedicated to Almighty God for the Uſe of the Church of *Therfield* by the Reverend Dr. *John Barwick*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, and Rector of *Therfield*. O Chriſt, deſpiſe it not.

On the Lid of it is inſcrib'd,

Poculum benedictionis cui benedicimus, nonne Communicatio Sanguinis Chriſti eſt? 1 Cor. x. 16.

The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt?

great

great Diſtance from the Town; he choſe rather to go to *Chiſwick*, only five Miles off; where he was entertained with great Reſpect and Civility in the Houſe of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas* [d] *Elborow*, a very good Man, formerly his Pupil at *Cambridge*, and then Vicar of that Church. And here thoſe Remedies, which had before been made uſe of to no purpoſe in *London*, did not fail of Succeſs, having doubtleſs no little Help from the Change of the Air, and his Reſt from Buſineſs, as formerly in the Tower of *London*. But in the return of the Spring, his Health and Life being in ſome Meaſure reſtor'd, though ſtill in a State hazardous enough, he had a very great Deſire to return to his Cathedral, not enough to his Satisfaction taken Care of in his Abſence; and even to viſit the Church-Lands com-

[d] Originally of *Haſlebitch* in *Northamptonſhire*, admitted in St. *John*'s College *Cambridge*, *April* 3, 1639, and made Vicar of *Chiſwick*, *September* 26, 1662, on the Preſentation of the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s, moſt probably by his Tutor's Intereſt. He publiſhed two Books of *Expoſition of the Common-Prayer*, and in the Dedication of the laſt mentions his having parted with two Livings in *Leiceſterſhire*, which he ſeems to repent of, probably diſappointed of better Preferment by Dr. *Barwick*'s Death. He died himſelf *April* 15, 1675. *Newcourt*'s *Rep.* p. 587.

mitted

mitted to his Care: But ſinking under the Weight of his Diſtemper (as was intimated above) in the midſt of that Progreſs, he was forc'd to go back to his Retirement and Repoſe in the Country. Yet he ſeem'd not to be ſo weary even of his deadly Malady itſelf, as of theſe Interruptions and Avocations from the publick Buſineſs that lay upon him: For as often as he had recovered never ſo little Strength, he was us'd to impair and deſtroy it, by returning ever and anon to his former Labours: Nor was the Permiſſion of the Governors of the Church ſufficient, without their expreſs Command, to keep him at *Chiſwick*, where he was always beſt. This was the only Inſtance wherein he ſhew'd the leaſt Reluctance in obeying their Commands; in all others perhaps no Man was ever more obedient to his Eccleſiaſtical Superiors, and readier to comply with their Orders: Nor indeed was there any Thing that I know of, wherein Dr. *Barwick* was more to blame, than that the repeated Admonition of his Friends could not prevail with him to take due Care of his Health. There was nothing indeed ſo grievous to him, as what he interpreted ſleeping away his Life in Sloth

and

and Idleneſs; when it was the Duty of all good Men to unite their Forces as it were in a Body, and ſupport the Church, which was every Day in more Danger of falling. Nay, ſaid he, with what Face can I live ſo plentifully on the Revenue of that Church, to which I cannot lend my poor Aſſiſtance? And yet there very ſeldom paſſed one Day, wherein he did not (as his Duty requir'd) afford his helping Hand to his moſt ſacred Mother, by writing Letters to his Agents at *London*. Beſides all this, and his conſtant reading of the holy Scriptures, and ſtated Hours of private Devotion, which he obſerved daily (that he might even in his Country Retirement do the Church all the Service he could) he did not think much to read over, and put into Order whole Loads of Papers and old Manuſcripts [e], moſt written in ancient Characters, and the

[e] Sir *William Dugdale*, in his *Introduction* to the *Hiſtory* of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral (*p.* 27. *Edit.* 2.) tells us, that all thoſe venerable Chartularies and Records belonging to that ancient and famous Church, which upon the ſacrilegious and ravenous Seizure of the Deans and Chapters Lands throughout this whole Nation by the Long Parliament, coming to the Hands of one Mr. *John Reading*, Chairman of the Committee for ordering the Poſſeſſions thereof, were by *Reading* caſually communicated to

the writing half worn out with Age, which in the late Times of Diſtraction had been taken out of the Archives of the Church, and thrown together confuſedly in a great Heap: and he ſo carefully endorſed all theſe Papers, which had been omitted in Ages before, that it appeared at firſt ſight, what the Subject of every Particular was. Nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be dragg'd from theſe old muſty Volumes (though the Stench of them could not but be very offenſive and prejudicial to his infected Lungs) whether it was that he well knew every one was not capable of doing this Buſineſs, or that he thought it concern'd him above all Things, not to be ignorant of the ancient Rights of the Church, which were to be learnt from ſuch Writings as theſe. He did not bear theſe Studies (it ſeems) without great Inconvenience: For when he went out to ſee his old Friend the Reverend Dr.

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to him (Sir *William*) whence (ſays he) having reduced them out of no little Confuſion, and extracted what I have ſaid in my enſuing Diſcourſe of this Cathedral, I kept them in my Hands during the whole Time of the late Uſurpation; and ſoon after his late Majeſty was moſt happily reſtored, did faithfully deliver them unto the then worthy Dean Dr. *Barwick*, by whom being carefully laid up, they are ſtill preſerved for the Benefit of after Ages.

* *Busby*,

Busby, the celebrated Maſter of *Weſtminſter* School (who was alſo retir'd to *Chiſwick* for ſome Refreſhment in his toilſome Employment) in the midſt of the Way on a ſudden he was ſeiz'd with an immoderate Efflux of Blood. Now it happen'd at that Time, that ſome Travellers paſſed by, of that ſort, it ſeems, who bear a great Hatred to the Clergy, without any Ground: For as if they had been delighted with this ſight; behold, ſay they, one of *Baal*'s Prieſts, drunk with red Wine, and diſcharging his overloaded Stomach. There was certainly no Man living, againſt whom they could with more Injuſtice have thrown this curſed Dart of a poyſon'd Tongue: For it was about fifteen Years ſince he had taſted the leaſt drop of Wine, except at the holy Sacrament, continually tempering and diluting the Heat of his Blood with cold Spring Water only. As ſoon as the good Dean was able to take Breath after this Fit of vomiting Blood, little mov'd with ſo unworthy a Reproach, and wiſhing his Revilers a better Mind; theſe Calumnies, ſaid he, ought to be refuted only by our good Deeds: For it was no new or unaccuſtom'd Thing at that Time, after the

Barriers of the Church were broken down, that the beſt Men ſuffer'd the Puniſhment due to the worſt, even from ſuch as were the vileſt Wretches themſelves; if there be any Puniſhment in being barbarouſly revil'd with villainous Invectives. Thus if any of the Clergy worn out with old Age and former Calamities, made uſe of a Staff to ſupport his aged weak Limbs, as he walked along the Streets; he was pointed at as one, that through Drunkenneſs was not able to govern his Steps. If he look'd earneſtly round about with his dim Eyes, to find out any Place he was to go to in the City; ſome inſolent Scoffer would thus reflect upon him: That Parſon has devour'd five fat Livings, and ſee with what prying Eyes he is ſeeking after a ſixth. Indeed I knew this ſevere Reflection caſt upon one, who had not only refus'd a Benefice deſervedly offer'd him, but had voluntarily reſign'd thoſe he had accepted, becauſe he thought his ill Health render'd him uncapable to take due Care of them. From theſe Reproaches of ill Men the beſt of the Clergy could not be ſafe, neither Mr. [f] *Oley*,

[f] See above, p. 126.

nor

nor Mr. *Thorndike* [g], nor Mr. *Thirſcroſs* [h], nor any of thoſe great Men, who with incomparable Sanctity of Life have adorn'd this worſt Age, altogether worthy of a better.

But that I may now finiſh this Life in a few Words: This laſt Fit of vomiting Blood, with which Dr. *Barwick* was ſeiz'd, ſeem'd to be more dangerous than all the reſt; not only becauſe the Evacuation was in a larger Quantity, than any he had had before at *Chiſwick*; but becauſe it was preceded

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[g] Mr. *Herbert Thorndike*, ſometime Fellow of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, Proctor of that Univerſity *Anno* 1638, and Rector of *Barley* in *Hertfordſhire*, 1642, elected Maſter of *Sidney* College on the Death of Dr. *Ward*, 1643, but kept out of it by the Oppreſſion of the Times. After the Reſtoration he was made Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, *September* 5, 1661, reſigned his Living of *Barley* the Year following, and died 1672. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 160.

[h] Mr. *Timothy Thirſcroſs*, I ſuppoſe the ſame that had been Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge*, Prebendary of *York*, and Archdeacon of *Cleveland*, which laſt mentioned Preferment he reſigned *Anno* 1638. In ſome Extracts of Dr. *Worthington's* Letters communicated to me by his Son Mr. *John Worthington*, my very good Friend, I find Mr. *Thriſcroſs* (as the Dr. writes his Name) mentioned as a Perſon of great Piety and Devotion, a mortified Man, of a ſtrict Life, and of great Charity, and in the Year 1660, living at *Weſtminſter*. In a Letter of the Year 1670 the Dr. ſtiles him Dr. *Thriſcroſs*, then it ſeems one of the Fellows of *Eton*, and intimates that he had formerly had ſomething at the *Charter-Houſe*, and at *York*. He is probably the ſame Dr. *Timothy Thurſcroſs*, as Mr. *Wood* and Dr. *Walker* write his Name, mentioned to have died in *London*, *Anno* 1671. See *Wood Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 843. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 84.

with no Stench of Breath, which before was a moſt certain Indication of the Blood's being in a Ferment: Whence there was room to conjecture, that the Incloſures of the Veſſels, which convey the vital Juice round the Body, were thrown open, not by an Ebullition of the Blood, but rather by a Diſſolution of the Frame of Nature. But though at *London* there were not wanting good Men, and hearty good Friends of the Doctor's, who willingly ſupplied his Office both of Dean and Prolocutor: Yet he would long before that have reſign'd both thoſe Places to ſuch as had better Health to diſcharge them, if he had not been hinder'd more by the Commands of the Biſhops, who were very kind and indulgent to him in his Illneſs, than by the Perſuaſions of others: For he had fix'd his Eyes on the Pariſh of *Therfield* alone, greatly deſiring to enjoy only that Retirement, at Liberty from all publick Buſineſs. For this Reaſon he would not let out any part of that Parſonage to farm, but kept it all in his own Hands, and had the Corn laid up in his Barns, though as it happen'd not without great Loſs; but reſolving to lead a private Life free from the Noiſe of the

the Publick, he was willing the Product of his Living ſhould be ready for the uſe of his Family.

But though his Houſe at *Therfield* wanted no Preparations either of neceſſary Proviſion, or of convenient Furniture for his Reception, yet he was never permitted to enjoy it; but ſoon after departed to an infinitely more pleaſant Retirement from thoſe Labours and Afflictions, which with ſo much Courage and Conſtancy he had endur'd for Chriſt's moſt holy Spouſe: Not refreſhing now and then (as he had hitherto done) his emaciated Body in rural Gardens and Bowers alternatively flouriſhing and fading; but eternally delighting and ſatiating his Soul with pure and unmix'd Participations of an abundantly more ſolid Joy: For being upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion return'd to *London*, but little recover'd from his late Fit, he was ſeiz'd, not with his uſual Efflux of Blood, but with a violent Pain in the Side, which ſo decayed and hourly waſted his Strength, that unable to get back to *Chiſwick*, in three Days he gave up the Ghoſt. Theſe three Days he dedicated to God alone, and the Exerciſe of private Devotion; and to aſſiſt

him in that holy Office, he ſent for that moſt ſincere Friend and moſt learned Divine, the very Reverend Dr. *Peter* [h] *Gunning*, afterwards Biſhop ſucceſſively of *Chicheſter* and of *Ely*, whom he had always enjoy'd as the inſeparable Companion and Partaker of what he had both done and ſuffered for the afflicted Church in the moſt difficult Times. Having receiv'd the ſacred *Viaticum* from this excellent Man, he put off his mortal Body, and left the Earth on the 22[d] of *October*, 1664, after he had ſtruggled almoſt two Years with his grievous Diſtemper. Upon Inſpection all his Entrails appear'd to be decayed, particularly his Liver and his Lungs, and yet not ſo much vitiated, but that he might have lived longer, if the Maſs of Blood had not by continual Evacuations been much the greateſt part of it exhauſted. Many good and great Men came of their own accord from all Parts to celebrate his Funeral, where that venerable Prelate Dr. *Henchman* [i] Biſhop

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[h] See above, p. 39.

[i] Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, Son of *Thomas Henchman* of *London* Skinner, of an ancient Family in *Northamptonſhire*, had been

ſhop of *London* was pleaſed to read the Service over his dear departed Friend, and Dr. *Gunning* [k] preach'd his Funeral Sermon. His

been Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, Precentor, Canon Reſident, and Prebendary of *Salisbury*, was very inſtrumental in forwarding his Majeſty's Eſcape into *France* after *Worceſter* Fight, much eſteem'd by that Prince, who upon the Reſtoration advanced him to the See of *Salisbury*, *October* 4, 1660. and thence tranſlated him to this of *London*, *September* 15, 1663, and made him Lord Almoner. He died *October* 1675, was interr'd in the Pariſh Church of *Fulham*, and left ſeven hundred ſixty ſeven Pounds to St. *Paul's*. *Wood Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 829. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 62.

[k] Dr. *Gunning's* Text upon this Occaſion was *Philip.* i. 21, 22, 23, 24. *For to me to live is Chriſt, and to die is Gain: But if I live in the Fleſh, this is the Fruit of my Labour: Yet what I ſhall chuſe, I wot not: For I am in a Streight betwixt two, having a Deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt; which is far better: Nevertheleſs to abide in the Fleſh is more needful to me.* This Information, as well as many others, I owe to my learned good Friend Mr. *John Worthington*, A. M. one of the deprived Fellows of St. *Peter's* College in *Cambridge*, who finds this Particular in a Letter of his Father's the Reverend Dr. *John Worthington*, ſometime Maſter of *Jeſus* College in the ſame Univerſity, who was preſent at the Funeral, which by the Date of that Letter appears to have been ſolemniz'd on the 27th of *October* 1664. Dr. *Worthington* was at that Time Preacher at St. *Benet Fink* in *London*; but had entered upon that Cure only in *June* before, for the Rectory of that Church being then held by Leaſe from the College of *Windſor* by one of the Canons or Prebendaries of that College, and Dr. *Worthington* having an Offer of the Leaſe, he was not willing at that Time to accept it, chuſing rather to have the Place *pro tempore* from the ſaid Prebendary, then immediately from the College, and accordingly he entered upon it in *June* 1664, whereas Mr. *Wood* (*Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 753.) makes him to have been Rector of St. *Benet Fink*, *in the Times of Uſurpation*, a Miſtake as groſs, as that other which accompanies it, *viz.* that the Dr. was *then eſteemed by all a Presbyterian*: He ſhould have ſaid an *Arminian*, a Name

His Epitaph was compoſed by Mr. *Samuel*

wherewith the moſt Orthodox Clergy of the Church of *England* were branded at that Time; and Dr. *Worthington* among the reſt, as his Son has been aſſured by a Doctor of Divinity, that was a Student in *Cambridge* at the ſame Time. He had been bred up in that Church from his Infancy, and received her Orders both of Deacon and Prieſt in the moſt diſcouraging Times, and when it was accounted Criminal, *viz. Anno* 1646. This appears from his Letters of Orders now in his Son's Hands, and his Teſtimonial from *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, of which he was then Fellow, ſubſcribed by ſeveral of the Fellows, and among the reſt by Mr. *Sancroft*, then his immediate Junior in that Society, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* For thoſe two, and ſome few others in that Univerſity, by the Connivance of thoſe who tendered the Covenant, kept their Fellowſhips, though they never took it. He was indeed Maſter of *Jeſus* College ſome Years before the Reſtoration; but as he was not the Intruder upon Dr. *Sterne*, the rightful Maſter, who had been ejected many Years before; ſo it was at the Requeſt of the Fellows of the College, that he accepted the Maſterſhip againſt his own Inclination, which (as appears from ſeveral of his Letters to Dr. *Sterne* and others) was to a more private and retired Life, during Times he was no Friend to, as, he ſays, was well known to ſome, and inſtances particularly in Dr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Thriſtcroſs*, and might have added Biſhop *Juxon* and Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, who were his great Friends. That was the Reaſon, no doubt, that he was never entruſted, by thoſe then at the Helm, as he obſerves, with any of their Ordinances or Commiſſions, paſſing, even in the Maſterſhip, a retired, and, he hoped, a good Life; his Words are, *benè latui*, and I hope, *benè vixi*, ſtudying to promote ingenuous Learning, Piety, Peace, Candor, and Moderation, inſomuch that, as he tells Dr. *Sterne*, that when he took his Place, he would more willingly have left it to him: ſo that Doctor told him, he was glad the College at laſt fell into his Hands. From ſeveral other of his Letters it alſo appears, that he preached at St. *Benet Fink* all the Plague Time, and could not be perſuaded to remove from that Danger, and leave the Pariſh deſtitute, though he preached there only *pro tempore*, and the Place was another's. Inſtead therefore of going to St. *Alban's*,

muel[1] *Howlet* Fellow of St. *John*'s College, a Perſon of Learning and Judgment much beyond his Age (for he was not yet twenty) and

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ban's, as his Friends there preſſed him by Letters, with an Offer of providing Lodgings for him; when Houſes were very dear near *London*, he took one for his Family at *Hackney*, and went weekly to *London* himſelf. From *February* 18, 1665, till the Fire of *London* he preached alſo the Lecture at St. *Benet Fink*, the former Lecturer being dead. Soon after the Fire, Dr. *Henry More* of *Chriſt* College in *Cambridge*, preſented him to the Rectory of *Ingoldsby*, a good Living near *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, and Archbiſhop *Sheldon* procured him one of the Prebends of *Lincoln* ſoon after. From *Ingoldsby* he removed to *Hackney*, being choſen Lecturer there with a Subſcription commencing from *Lady-Day* 1670, and the Church of St. *Benet Fink* being then rebuilding, he thought fit to ſue to the Chapter of *Windſor* to have that Leaſe renewed to him on the Surrendry of it by one of the Canons, and was ſo effectually recommended by Archbiſhop *Sheldon* to the Dean of *Windſor*, Dr. *Ryves*, on that Behalf, that his Suit was granted; but ſome Difficulties ariſing about the Form of the Leaſe, with Regard to the Parſonage Houſe decreed to be rebuilt, e'er it could be drawn he fell ill, and died at *Hackney* towards the end of *November*, 1671, and was interr'd in the Chancel there. At the end of his Volume of *Miſcellanies*, publiſhed by his Son *Anno* 1704, there is an account of his Writings, and the Works of others publiſhed by him. I hope the Reader will forgive this Digreſſion in Defence of ſo great and good a Man, eſpecially by one who has received ſo many Obligations from his Son.

[1] In the College Regiſter he is ſaid to have been of *Baddow* in *Eſſex*, Son of the Reverend Mr. *Richard Howlet*, who was not improbably the worthy Dean of that Name mentioned in the *Preface* as the Author's Lady's firſt Husband, who being driven from his Deanery in *Ireland*, and turned out of all he had by the Rebels there, was forced for Safety of his Life to come, with his Wife and Children, into *England*, where Archbiſhop *Laud*, to whom the Dean's Wife was nearly related, preferred him to *Lachingdon*, a good Benefice in *Eſſex*, *April* 13, 1642, as the Archbiſhop himſelf gives account in the Hiſtory of

and who himſelf alſo was in a few Years ripe for Heaven, ſo accompliſhed in every kind of Learning and Virtue, that it is hard not to make an Excurſion in his Praiſe, even while I am writing another's Life.

[Though Dr. *Barwick* always approved of the Practice of thoſe, eſpecially if they had not been married, who, whatever they could ſpare out of the Revenues of the Church from their own Maintenance, never ceaſed even in their Life Time to employ it almoſt all to pious Uſes; being Perſons to whom God, as to the Stewards of his Family, had entruſted the ſacred Dower for that Purpoſe, that they might diſpenſe his Portion to every one; yet it ſo happen'd, that he had ſtill left, to be diſpos'd of by his laſt Will, no ſmall Part of what he had

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of his Troubles and Trial, *p.* 194, 195. All the Difficulty is, that the College Regiſter notes our *Samuel Howlet* to have been of *Baddow* in *Eſſex*, whereas if he were Dean *Howlet*'s Son, he was probably born at *Lachingdon* in that County, which Dean *Howlet* was poſſeſſed of about two Years before his Birth: He was admitted Penſioner at the Age of ſixteen, under the Tuition of Mr. *Fothergil*, *January* 7, 1659, having been bred up in the *Charter-Houſe* School; and was choſen Fellow of the College, *May* 5, 1664, by a Royal Diſpenſation. In the Book of Commemoration of Benefactors, he is mentioned to have left the College eighty *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh*, and ſome *German* Books.

ſaved out of his ſpiritual Preferments: For publick Buſineſs had prevented his taking Care of his own private Concerns. Nor had he almoſt ever been able to find a convenient Opportunity of ſhewing any Kindneſs to thoſe, to whom he thought himſelf very much indebted: He therefore choſe [m] one to be the Executor of his Will, who, he conceiv'd, both knew his Mind, and was no Stranger to his Affairs, and would adminiſter faithfully; and to reward his Pains and Care in the Diſcharge of that Truſt, he left him two hundred Pounds Sterling (for I always mean *Engliſh* Money) beſides the Legacy left him with the reſt of his neareſt Relations. Among the leſſer Gifts beſtow'd upon his Friends, both of the Clergy and Laity, as a Mark of his antient, whether Veneration or Friendſhip, and Acknowledgment of Kindneſs received, he bequeathed the immortal Writings of the King's Father, bound in two Volumes,

[m] This was his Brother Dr. *Peter Barwick* the Author of this Life, who modeſtly conceals his own Name here, yet is mentioned as his Brother's Executor, in the Receipt given him by the Maſter and Fellows of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, for the Legacy of three hundred Pounds left them by the Dean, as will be ſoon related.

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as no improper Pledge of his Love and Gratitude, to his deareſt Friend Mr. *John Otway*, who namely by his Advice and Perſuaſion (to uſe the Words of the Teſtator himſelf) declined no Labour nor Danger, that the King's Son might be reſtor'd to his Throne. But there were greater Marks of his Beneficence, which yet he eſteem'd no other than Debts, wherewith he gratified others, who had moſt of them aſſiſted either his Studies in his younger Years and ſtreighter Circumſtances, or his Labours and Endeavours for the publick Service in his riper Age, and more difficult and intricate State of Affairs, and ſome of them not without Danger to themſelves. Beſides he knew that moſt of theſe were in no plentiful Condition, and they were all very near of Kin to him: Yet he gave to none of theſe, on account either of his Relation, or of any Kindneſs receiv'd from him, not even to his own Brothers, above two hundred Pounds a Piece; leſt he ſhould ſeem to have had more Regard to private Affection, than to publick Piety. To all the Daughters of his Brothers, four in Number, he gave a hundred Pounds each, and to his Brother *William*'s

William's Son, his only Nephew, two hundred Pounds. He thought fit likewiſe, that all his Servants whatſoever, who had been helpful to him in his long Sickneſs, ſhould partake liberally of his Bounty: Beſides he appointed that his Library, which through his little Health and much Buſineſs happened to be not very well furniſh'd, ſhould all (but that one Book bequeath'd, as abovementioned, to Mr. *Otway*) be given to Mr. *Samuel Howlet*, who had always had the greateſt Reſpect for him. Theſe for the moſt part were thoſe Legacies, wherewith he thought proper to reward the Kindneſs and good Will of his Friends and Retainers, whether Relations or others. Beſides which he left in ready Money forty Pounds to *Sedberg* School, and three hundred Pounds to St. *John*'s College, in both which he had been bred up, and a hundred Pounds to St. *Paul*'s Church, theſe three Sums to be employed in the Repairs of all thoſe publick Buildings [n], beſides five hundred Pounds which he

[n] The College applied the Money to the Uſe of the new Building, or third Court, and the Dean's Benefaction is commemorated

he had given to St. *Paul*'s before: He likewiſe procur'd an Eſtate of fifty Pounds a Year belonging to the Church, but formerly alienated to ſecular Uſes, to be redeemed for about ſeven hundred Pounds paid down, with the greateſt part of which Revenue he added to the poor Endowment of the Chapel of *Wetherſlack* (his native Village, wherein he had been baptized) an Augmentation of thirty Pounds a Year; and the Fabrick being almoſt ruined with Age, and the Injuries of the Civil War, he rebuilt it from the Ground far more elegantly, and beautified it with all ſuitable Embelliſhments. The Surpluſage of that Eſtate every Year, he order'd to be employed either in mending the Highways, or in inſtruct-

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morated under that Head. Beſides his three hundred Pounds Dr. *Gunning* then Biſhop of *Chicheſter* is mentioned under the ſame Head to have given three hundred Pounds, Dr. *Thomas Turner* Dean of *Rocheſter* fifty Pounds, Dr. *Francis Turner* then Maſter of the College two hundred and fifty Pounds, in all nine hundred Pounds (beſides five Pounds there alſo mentioned as given by Dr. *William Lacy* Rector of *Thornhill* in *Yorkſhire*) to the ſame Uſe. When the Building was up *Anno* 1671, by a Limitation of Truſt there is to be paid yearly, out of the Rents of the Chambers of the new Building, forty two Pounds, to the uſe of the Muſick Maſter and ſix Choriſters; which by what is ſaid of Dr. *Barwick*'s great Zeal for Church Muſick Page 10, and 311. ſeems to anſwer his Intention very well, and his Benefaction amounts to fourteen Pounds *per Annum*.

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ing the Sons of the poorer Sort, or in marrying their Daughters that wanted Portions, the better to preſerve their Chaſtity: Thus for the moſt part he diſpoſed of all he had, either in ready Money by him, or in ſuch Debts as there would be no great Difficulty to get in. The Reſidue of his Eſtate, by Reaſon of the doubtful Credit of ſome of his Debtors, and the leſs doubtful Indigence of others, he could not reduce to any juſt Eſtimate. But whatever it ſhould amount to, after his Funeral Expences and other Debts paid, he directed it to be diſpoſed of, either for the Relief of poor Families, or to other pious Uſes, at his Diſcretion, to whom he entruſted the Care and Execution of his Will. And indeed, this Surpluſage of his Eſtate, by the Diligence and Faithfulneſs of ſome Perſons that had a juſt Value for his Memory, and were well verſed in the Practice of the Law, amounted beyond all Expectation to little leſs than a thouſand Pounds: So faithfully did he diſcharge the publick Truſt committed to him, and ſo prudently manage his private Fortune, that as he was perfectly free from all corrupt Affections, ſo he was certainly of all Men living the leaſt

tenacious

tenacious or craving, much leſs griping.]

It was at a very ſeaſonable Time, that it pleaſed God of his great Goodneſs to releaſe this excellent Perſon from the great Load of publick Cares which lay upon him, and alſo to take him away beforehand from thoſe Calamities of this famous City, which to that Time were unheard of, and followed in a very ſhort Space after. For what more grievous in this Life could have happened to him (who though of a Spirit never broken in his own Misfortunes, yet was the ſooneſt moved of any Man living with thoſe of others) than within two Years after to have ſeen firſt the mighty Deſtruction of the People of *London* in all the Streets on every ſide ſeized with a moſt terrible Peſtilence? Then immediately after, with what weeping Eyes would he have beheld almoſt all the Buildings of the City, whether ſacred or civil, brought under the Dominion of unconquerable Flames, and within three Days reduced to Aſhes? With what aſtoniſhed Ears would he have received the direful Craſhings of the moſt noble Fabricks falling down to the Ground on every Side? Particularly the vaſt Pile of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral,

thedral, which had been the Subject of ſo many of his Prayers, and occaſioned him ſo much Solicitude. Alas! After ſo immenſe a Devaſtation, how poor a Conſolation muſt it have been to him, either that the Roof of that part of the Choir, under which he was accuſtomed ſo readily to pour out his Euchariſtick Vows, had neither its Rafters burnt, nor its Lead melted, but remained untouch'd, though the Flames raged all about it; or that of that vaſt Fabrick, he might have ſeen one little Oratory (wherein he was uſed every Day more than once humbly on his bended Knees to implore God's Bleſſing upon himſelf in private, before he addreſſed himſelf to the publick Service) continue ſafe and unhurt in the midſt of the Flames? Nor were there wanting Perſons of great Worth, who had ſo high an Opinion of Dr. *Barwick*'s Piety, as to make no doubt of imagining, that theſe little Remains of that vaſt Pile, were, by the ſovereign Ruler of all Things, and of this Fire in particular, indulged in ſome Meaſure to his moſt ſacred Aſhes, and reſcued unhurt from the midſt of the Flames, as of old the Worſhipers of the

true God were [o] delivered from the fiery Furnace at *Babylon*; by theſe Inſtances to render it more evident, with how much greater Clemency he would have acted with the reſt, if we had all worſhiped him there with the ſame Piety and Affection, with which that holy and moſt zealouſly devout Man did. Alas! with how grievous Reproaches would he and the Religion of his Church have been purſued by the Fanaticks, far leſs candid Interpreters of the Divine Judgments (though he was uſed daily, in that very Place, to offer up moſt ardent Prayers to God alſo in their Behalf) if theſe Remains, of how little Moment ſoever, which ſurviv'd that immenſe Ruin, had been either the only Parts of the Church, or the firſt, that had yielded to the Rage of the Flames? It is certain this Race of Men conceived no little Envy, that theſe ſmall Parts of the Church, after that mighty Conflagration, like Brands without any humane Help plucked out of the Fire, had beyond all Men's Expectation continued untouch'd: Yet I heartily pray, and firmly

[o] *Dan.* chap. iii.

hope

hope (now that Dr. *Barwick* is ſucceeded in the Deanery by the very Reverend Dr. *William* [p] *Sancroft*, a Perſon of the greateſt Prudence,

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[p] Born at *Freſhingfield* in *Suffolk January* 30, 1616, educated in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, of which he ſoon became Fellow, and being connived at, with ſome few others, by thoſe who tendered the Covenant, and not turned out for refuſing it, was at laſt ejected for not taking the Engagement. After that, having ſpent ſome Years in *France* and *Italy* among the moſt learned Men in thoſe Countries, and proſecuted his Studies there with indefatigable Induſtry, he returned about the Time of the Reſtoration, and his ſurprizing Knowledge in Claſſick Learning, both Greek and Latin, together with his great Piety recommending him to the Knowledge of all the Biſhops at that Time, Biſhop *Coſin*, to whom I ſuppoſe he had been known abroad, made choice of him not only for his Chaplain, but for his Friend and Confident; and it was, no doubt, by that Biſhop's Favour, that on *March* 11, 1661, he was admitted to the ninth Prebend in the Church of *Durham*, and ſoon ſucceeded Dr. *Barwick* in the Rectory of *Houghton* in *le Spring* in that County, as he did afterwards in the Deanery of St. *Paul*'s. *Auguſt* 14, 1662, he was choſen Maſter of his own College, and *February* 26, 1663 advanced to the Deanery of *York*, whence he was elected to that of St. *Paul*'s, *November* 11, 1664, collated to the Prebend of *Oxgate* in that Church on the 2[d], and inſtall'd Dean on the 9[th] of *December* following. *October* 7, 1668. on the King's Nomination he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury*, which he reſigned in 1670. *January* 27, 1677, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *June* 8, 1688, being with ſix other Biſhops committed to the Tower, for petitioning King *James* to withdraw his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and being tried with them and acquitted on the 29[th] of that Month, he and four of thoſe ſix, and four other Biſhops were ſuſpended from all their Preferments on the firſt of *Auguſt* 1690, and as many of them as ſurvived, deprived on the firſt of *February* following, for not taking the new Oaths enjoined after the Revolution. On his Deprivation he returned to the Place of his Nativity, where he built him a little Houſe, and lived in great Re-

Prudence, Learning, and Integrity) that theſe poor Remainders were preſerv'd by the propitious Deity, as Pledges that the whole ſhall one Day riſe again with more Splendor and Magnificence.

Amori & Æternitati.
Quiſquis es Viator,
Oculum, animum huc adverte, lege, luge.
Jacent ſub hoc marmore
Tenues exuviæ non tenuis animæ
Johannis Barwick S. S. Th. D.
Quem ſuum
Natalibus gloriatur Ager Weſtmorienſis,
Studiis Academia Cantabrigienſis,
Admiſſum ſocium in S. Johannis Collegium,
Indeque, quod magis honori eſt,
Pulſum à Rebellibus.

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tirement, and dying *November* 24, 1693, was by his own Direction interr'd in that Pariſh Church-Yard. See a farther account of him in Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*. P. 2. *p.* 144. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 679. *Preface* to his three Sermons, publiſhed in 8vo, 1703. See alſo a Letter out of *Suffolk* to a Friend in *London*, giving ſome Account of his laſt Sickneſs and Death, 4to, *London* 1694. And a Vindication of him and the reſt of the deprived Biſhops from the Reflections of Mr. *Marſhal*, *&c.* particularly with Regard to their refuſing to publiſh an *Abhorrence* of the Prince of *Orange*'s Invaſion, their meeting at *Guild-Hall*, and their Endeavours for a *Regency*, 8vo, *London* 1717.

Qui

Qui nec Perduellium rabiem,
Nec Hæmoptyſin, quamvis æque cruentam,
Et certius heu! tandem percuſſuram,
Quicquam moratus,
Pro Rege & Eccleſiâ ſummè ardua molitus,
Diro carcere perquam inhumana paſſus,
(Inconcuſsâ ſemper virtute)
Renatum denuò vidit & Diadema & Infulam,
Etiam ſuâ non parum obſtetricante manu.
Qui deinde functus
Decanatu { Dunelmenſi paucis menſibus,
Paulino verò triennio,
Parùm diu utroque, ſed fidelitèr;
Tandem (poſt cœlibatum
Cum primis caſtè cum primis ſanctè cultum)
Labe pulmonum, & curis publicis confectus,
Heic requieſcit in Domino,
Atque inter ſacras Ædis Paulinæ ruïnas
Reponit ſuas,
(Utraſque reſurrecturas ſecurus.)
Anno { Ætatis LIII.
Salutis MDCLXIV.
Cætera ſcire ſi velis,
Diſcede, & Diſce
Ex illuſtri primævæ pietatis Exemplo,
Etiam ſequiore hoc ſeculo,
Quid ſit eſſe veri nominis
Chriſtianum.

[q] *Sacred*
To Love, and to Generations to come.
Thou that paſſeſt by, whoſoever thou art,
Bring hither thine Eyes, and Underſtanding alſo,
Intuitively both to look, and lament.
For within this marble Wardrobe are folded up
The thin worn Weeds
Of the valuable, ſubſtantial, and well accoutred Soul
Of John Barwick, *Doctor of Divinity;*
To whom Weſtmorland *may well boaſt*
To have given firſt Breath and Being;
Next Cambridge *may boaſt*
To have given him his firſt Admiſſion,
And St. John's *College there a Fellowſhip*
In that Foundation;
From which Fellowſhip
(*Which ſtill makes more for his Honour*)
He was unjuſtly ejected by a Pack of Parricides.
Who notwithſtanding,
Regardleſs of the Rage of thoſe bloody Times,
Or his own Blood-ſpitting Malady equally pernicious,
[*And at length more certain alas! to deſtroy him;*]

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[q] After I had taken the Pains to put this Epitaph into *Engliſh*, finding it done to my Hand in Mr. *Wood* (*Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 732, 733.) and concluding from his Account of it, that that very Tranſlation was ſet up with the Latin over the Dean's Grave, I eaſily determined to print that, with the Addition of the laſt Line of this Page, I know not for what Reaſon there omitted.

Boldly

Boldly attempted and ſucceſsfully managed
Matters of the greateſt Difficulty and Danger,
In the behalf of the King and Church:
And for that Cauſe
Was ſhut up in a dire and loathſome Priſon,
Where he ſuffered inhuman and barbarous Uſage,
Yet with a conſtant and undaunted Spirit.
And in the end he ſaw,
By the Miracle as it were of a new Creation,
The Revival of both Crown and Mitre,
Himſelf playing the Man-Midwife's Part,
And vigorouſly aſſiſting at the new Birth of both.
Laſt of all,
For his active Services, and paſſive Sufferings
He was dignified with the Deanery of Durham,
Which he held a few Months,
And afterwards with that of St. Paul's,
Which he enjoyed three Years,
Tho' either of them too ſhort a Seaſon,
Yet diſcharged both with ſingular Care and Fidelity;
Living and dying a Bachelor,
And ſtrictly chaſt and ſanctimonious
Both in Soul and Body:
And being much debilitated
By a long and lingring Conſumption,
Here he reſts in the Lord,
And depoſits his laſt Remains

Among thoſe ruinous ones of St. Paul's *Church,*
Being confident of the Reſurrection
Both of the one and other.
He died in the 53^d *Year of his Age,*
And of our Lord 1664.
Reader, if thou deſireſt to know more
Of this Reverend Churchman,
Go Home, and learn
By the conſpicuous Copy of his ſincere Devotion,
What it is, to be a true Chriſtian indeed.

THE AUTHOR's APPENDIX.

THE Perſon formerly Dr. *Barwick*'s Pupil at *Cambridge*, whom in the Deſcription of his Life above I have mentioned (as the Nature of the Work required) with no great Advantage to his Character was Dr. *Anthony*[1] *Walker*: Yet I hitherto conceal'd his Name out of Re-

[1] See above, *p.* 16.

ſpect to him, and in Regard of the old Acquaintance I have had with him for the Space of fifty Years; and I ſhould have conceal'd it for the future, if he had not been of late too prodigal [s] of it himſelf.

After he had forſaken the more wholſome Inſtructions of Mr. *Barwick*, he got into the Family of Dr. *John* [t] *Gauden*, to become a Votary to new Doctrines in Religion, which at that Time began to be more gainful, though unhear'd of in the Church of *England*, from the firſt Age of Chriſtianity. Under this Inſtructor he learnt the Art of blurting out crude Sermons, and indigeſted Prayers, and in a ſhort Time became ſo famous for his Knowledge in the new Religion, that he was thought worthy to be Chaplain to the Earl [u] of *Warwick*, recommended to that Office by *Gauden*, who had before been his Lordſhip's Chaplain himſelf. That unhappy Lord, ſeduc'd by the Deluſions of ſuch ſort of Preach-

[s] Having prefixed it, I ſuppoſe, to that Treatiſe, which occaſioned this *Appendix*, and will be named by and by, though I never ſaw it.

[t] See an Account of him in *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 207, &c.

[u] See above, *p.* 18.

ers,

ers, was perſuaded to take upon him the Employment of High Admiral to the Rebels, who under the Pretence of reforming the old Religion, were attempting to introduce a new one. Dr. *Gauden* ſeem'd at that Time to be a very eminent Preacher: But he ſeem'd ſo only to himſelf; to no others that were of ſounder Judgment. He was extremely fond of popular Applauſe, which at that Time began to be dangerous to Religion: For after the Rebels had got the Government into their Hands, all the Biſhops, Deans, Prebendaries, and Dignitaries in the Cathedral Churches, and almoſt all the Parochial Clergy, eſpecially ſuch as had Revenues any Thing conſiderable, were turn'd out of their Preferments, and the Diſturbers of the Church and Kingdom, though for the moſt part Men of no Senſe, thruſt into their Places. Yet Dr. *Gauden* continued fix'd and undiſturb'd in his [x] rich Benefice, joining himſelf to the ſworn Enemies of the Church and Crown, by their ſolemn League and Covenant. Notwithſtanding which, after the Church was

[x] The Rectory and Deanery of *Bocking* in *Eſſex*. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 208.

reſtor'd,

reſtor'd, he was not aſham'd to ſue for a Biſhoprick; and he obtain'd it: For he was made Biſhop of *Exeter* [y]; though he had before abjur'd the whole Epiſcopal Order, and was ſaid to have openly adviſed King *Charles* the Second in a Letter (according to his manner ſufficiently prolix) alſo to abjure the ſame in *Scotland*. But you will ſay, Dr. *Gauden* might have repented: He might indeed, but he would not; for he was always like himſelf, next Kin to a Presbyterian in a Biſhoprick: But if he did not repent; yet he was griev'd a little before the Reſtoration, when he broke out into thoſe [z] *Sighs* upon the Calamities of the Church, which he publiſhed at that Time; forgetting in the mean while, how much himſelf had formerly contributed to bring thoſe Calamities upon the Church. By beating the Air with theſe Sighs and Sobbings, too late, but immoderately enough, he ſeem'd to be very much out of

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[y] Vacant ſince the Death of Biſhop *Brownrigg*. Elected *November* 3, 1660.

[z] Intituled *Eccleſia Anglicana ſuſpiria, ſetting forth her former Conſtitution, compared with her preſent Condition, in four Books*, London 1659. fol. *Wood Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 209.

Breath,

Breath, and almoſt ſpent: For as he was always moſt addicted to himſelf before all others; ſo now he could not but conjecture, that he and his Affairs were utterly ruin'd: For he ſaw, and that clearly enough, that his Fellow Conſpirators (who ſome Years before had devour'd all the Deans and Chapters Lands and Eſtates, for which, as Things altogether foreign to him, he was not at all concern'd) were now at length immoderately gaping after whatever was left belonging to the Church, to wit, all the Tythes and other Revenues of all the Parochial Clergy, of whom he thought himſelf no contemptible part.

After the Death of that excellent Prelate Dr. *Brian* [a] *Duppa*, the Right Reverend Biſhop

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[a] Or *D' Uphaugh*, Son (as Mr. *Wood* ſuppoſes) of Mr. *Jeffery Duppa*, Vicar of *Lewſham* in *Kent*, born at *Greenwich* in that County, *March* 10, 1588, bred up at the King's School at *Weſtminſter*, thence elected Student of *Chriſt Church* in *May* 1605, and Fellow of *All-Souls* in 1612. Then proceeding in Arts, and taking holy Orders he travelled beyond Seas, and in 1619 was unanimouſly choſen one of the Proctors of his Univerſity. In 1625, being then Chaplain to the Prince Palatine, he took his Degrees in Divinity, and was next Year made Dean of *Chriſt-Church*. He was Vice-Chancellor in the Years 1632 and 1633, was made Chancellor of the Church of *Salisbury* in 1634, and ſoon after became Tutor to the Prince, afterwards King *Charles* the Second. *May* 19, 1638, he was preſented

ſhop of *Wincheſter*, he very greedily hunted after that rich Biſhoprick, aſſiſted by the Favour of ſome [b] Perſons at Court, who manag'd the Affairs of the King and of the Church with too much Negligence, or too little Fidelity. For there were not wanting thoſe, who voluntarily obtruded themſelves to reſtore the Church with the ſame Diſpoſitions, wherewith they had formerly deſtroy'd it. Dr. *Gauden*, to prove himſelf worthy of ſo great a Biſhoprick, contriv'd this wonderful Artifice: He ſecretly whiſpered it into the Ears of ſome, and is ſaid to have attempted without Witneſs or Credit to perſuade the Royal Brothers, King

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preſented to the Rectory of *Petworth* in *Suſſex*, which he ſeems to have held ſome Time *in Commendam* with the See of *Chicheſter*, to which he was advanced *June* the 12th following. In 1641 he was tranſlated to *Salisbury*, whence through the Iniquity of the Times, he ſoon retired to *Oxford*, and continued with his Majeſty to the Time of his Murther; after which he lived moſtly at *Richmond* in *Surry*, in great Devotion and Solitude, till the Reſtoration; when upon *September* 24, 1660, he was tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, and made Lord Almoner; and dying at *Richmond*, *March* 26, 1662, was interr'd in *Weſtminſter Abbey*. See a farther Account of him and his bountiful Legacies to the Colleges of *Chriſt-Church* and *All-Souls*, the Churches of *Chicheſter*, *Salisbury*, and *Wincheſter*, his *Almſhouſe* at *Richmond* and Hoſpital at *Greenwich*, unleſs the ſame be meant by that different mention of them in both Places. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 176, 177, and 661.

[b] Probably the Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Angleſey*, for the Earl of *Warwick* had no Intereſt.

Charles

Charles and the Duke of *York*, that himſelf was the Author of that moſt celebrated Book intituled, Εικων Βασιλικη, or the *Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*: and that he had put it out in the Royal Martyr's Name. Yet he did not invent this Fiction till about fifteen Years after the Death of King *Charles* the Firſt, who wrote that golden Work, and till after that of all others, as he thought, who, eſpecially in a Matter of ſo much Secrecy, could give any Evidence of the writing of it, particularly Biſhop *Duppa*, who was thought by many to have been privy thereto: Yet ſure there is no Man, but ſuch as deſire and reſolve to be deceiv'd, that will give any Credit to *Gauden*, whatever he affirms or denies, who owns himſelf guilty of ſo daring an Impoſture. He could not obtain the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*; yet I know not by what ill Deſtiny he gain'd that of [c] *Worceſter*, which yet he did not long enjoy; for a little while after that falſe Apoſtate *Gauden* [d] departed this Life, the un-

[c] *May* 13, 1662, on the Tranſlation of Biſhop *Morley* to *Wincheſter*.

[d] *September* 10, 1662.

happy

happy Blemiſh and Reproach of the ſacred Order, after it was happily reſtored. And how much that moſt vain Man was at laſt deſpis'd by King *Charles*, appear'd evidently from hence, that when [e] Archbiſhop *Sheldon* acquainted him, that Biſhop *Gauden* was dead, his Majeſty replied, that he made no doubt, but it would be eaſy to find a more worthy Perſon to fill his Place. When the King's Book was firſt publiſhed, it was acknowledged almoſt by every one, that the two firſt Chapters of it had been taken among the Royal Spoils at *Naſeby* Fight. It was alſo as univerſally own'd, that that venerable Perſon the Reverend Mr. [f] *Symmonds*, who tranſmitted that Book

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[e] My Author muſt mean Archbiſhop *Juxon*, who died not till *June* 4, 1663, almoſt nine Months after Biſhop *Gauden*; nor was Biſhop *Sheldon* tranſlated to *Canterbury* till *Auguſt* the 31ſt following, which was almoſt three Months more, and near a Year after *Gauden*'s Death, which muſt have been notified to the King long before; for Dr. *Earle* was elected Biſhop of *Worceſter* in his ſtead, *Nov.* 1, 1662, and conſecrated *Nov.* 30. *Le Neve Faſt. Eccl. Angl. p.* 9, and 300.

[f] Mr. *Edward Symmonds*, Rector of *Rayne* in *Eſſex*. He was born at *Cottered* in *Hertfordſhire*, and educated at *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambridge*: Admitted to that Living *December* 31, 1630, and diſpoſſeſſed thereof by the Rebels, *March* 3, 1642. See his own ſhort Account of his Sufferings prefixt to the *Loyal Subject's Belief* publiſhed by him, *Anno* 1643. Dr. *Hollingworth* in his Dedication of the Vindication of the Royal Martyr, *&c.* publiſhed

Book to Mr. *Richard Royſton* to be publiſhed under the King's Name, had received the ſame from his Majeſty: Which Thing alſo he himſelf abundantly certified, as far as was practicable by Reaſon of the Malice of the moſt inveterate Enemies, whereby he was not a little oppreſs'd; for he was a Man of Primitive Piety, who for his Fidelity to the King, and Steadfaſtneſs to the Church, had ſuffered the Loſs of all; and in his Love and Regard to Chriſtian Simplicity, was the very Reverſe to Biſhop *Gauden*: Yet in his Neighbourhood in *Eſſex*, the good Man enjoyed a Living as long as the Rebels would give him leave. But at length before the Reſtoration he ſunk under their Hatred, and [s] finiſhed an unblemiſhed Life: Indeed no Man ſeem'd fitter to be truſted with a Matter of that Importance: For he was very well known to the King, as well for his great Integrity

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publiſhed by Mr. *Symmonds Anno* 1648, and reprinted by the Doctor *Anno* 1693, ſays, he was certainly a Man of as great Courage and Piety (as he was of Learning and Wiſdom) as that Age and thoſe Times almoſt did afford. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part* 2. *p.* 358, to 361.

[s] About the Year 1659, *Fuller's* Worthies in *Hertfordſhire* cited by Dr. *Walker*, ibid.

and Holineſs of Life, as beſides for that he had written and publiſhed an Apology to wipe off thoſe Calumnies, wherewith the beſt of Kings was moſt unworthily loaded by his ſworn Enemies.

[Add to all this, that there is ſcarce any of our Friends, who hath had the leaſt Familiarity or Acquaintance with Mr. *Royſton*, but has often heard him ſay [h], that in the Time of the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* between the King and the Parliament, he receiv'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty, ordering him to have all Things in readineſs requiſite for publiſhing ſome Papers, which his Majeſty would ſhortly tranſmit to him: And Mr. *Royſton* added, that from that Time he never receiv'd from the King any Papers whatſoever, except thoſe only, which were ſent him by Mr. *Symmonds*, and had the Royal [i] Title prefixt to them.]

But

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[h] See *Dugd.* Short View, ch. 32. p. 381. Dr. *Perrinchief's* Life of *Charles* the Firſt, *p.* 95.

[i] See his Majeſty's undoubted Right to this Divine Book farther aſſerted, and all the Objections thereto irrefragably anſwered in the following Treatiſes, ſet down in the Order wherein they were publiſhed.

The Princely Pellican, or Royal Reſolves preſented in ſundry choice Obſervations extracted from his Majeſty's Divine Meditations,

But what Need was there, O moſt vain *Gauden* (for I now appeal to you in the other World) that the moſt learned, as well as

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tations, with ſatisfactory Reaſons to the whole Kingdom, that his ſacred Majeſty was the only Author of them, 4to, 1649.

Dr. *Hollingworth's* Defence of King *Charles* the Firſt's Holy and Divine Book called Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, againſt the rude and undutiful Aſſaults of the late Dr. *Walker* of *Eſſex*, proving by living and unqueſtionable Evidences the aforeſaid Book to be that Royal Martyr's, and not Dr. *Gauden's*, 4to, 1692.

His farther Defence of the King's holy Book, *&c.* which I have not ſeen, but find ſo much of the Title of it, as alſo, that Mr. *Thomas Long*, before his Book againſt *Walker*, had written ſomething on the King's ſide of this Controverſy. I find both theſe Particulars in the Title of a Piece written againſt them both, called the *Plain Dealer*, an Eſſay, wherein are ſome Remarks upon Mr. *Thomas Long*, but more particularly upon Dr. *Hollingworth's* Book, where the Character of King *Charles* the Firſt is inſerted from the Declaration of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon:* Which Book he calls a farther Defence of the King's holy Book, *&c.* 4to, 1692.

Dr. *Walker's* true, modeſt, and faithful Account of the Author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, ſtrictly examined and demonſtrated to be falſe, impudent, and deceitful, in two Parts: The firſt diſproving it to be Dr. *Gauden's*, the ſecond proving it to be King *Charles* the Firſt's, by *Thomas Long*, B. D. and Prebendary of St. *Peter's Exon.* 4to, 1693.

A Vindication of King *Charles* the Martyr, proving that his Majeſty was the Author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, againſt a Memorandum of the Earl of *Angleſey*, and againſt the Exceptions of Dr. *Walker*, &c. 8vo, 1697.

A Defence of the Vindication juſtifying his Majeſty's Title to Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, in anſwer to a late Pamphlet intituled *Amyntor*, by the Author of the Vindication, 4to, 1699.

Several Evidences which have not yet appeared in the Controverſy concerning the Author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, produced in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Wagſtaffe*. By *J. Y.* of *Plymouth*, 4to, 1703.

as the beſt of Kings, ſhould borrow your Pen? He who, both in his Conferences and Writings, had ſo often triumph'd over the moſt eminent Divines of your Confederates, and far better Diſputants than you: Who utterly ſilenced *Henderſon* himſelf, the great Champion of the *Scotch* Presbytery, in a Theological Diſpute he had with him at *Newcaſtle*, where the King was, ſhut up from all his Friends, and ſurrounded with an Army of Enemies; inſomuch that *Henderſon* died ſoon after [k], unable (as was reported) to ſurvive the Diſgrace he had gotten among his own Countrymen, by being ſo miſerably baffled in this Conflict. From

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A Caſe of preſent Concernment in a Letter to a Member of the Houſe of Commons.

The impudent Babler baffled.— 1705.

A Vindication of King *Charles* the Martyr, proving that his Majeſty was the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, againſt a Memorandum ſaid to be written by the Earl of *Angleſey*, and againſt the Exceptions of Dr. *Walker* and others; to which is added a Preface, wherein the bold and inſolent Aſſertions publiſhed in a Paſſage of Mr. *Bayle's* Dictionary, relating to the preſent Controverſy, are examined and confuted. The third Edition with large Additions, and an *Appendix* of King *Charles* the Firſt's Letters in his Confinement, 4to, 1711.

[k] My Lord *Clarendon* ſays, he was ſo far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep Senſe of the Miſchief he had himſelf been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt Friends and Confidents, and died of Grief and Heart-broken, within a very ſhort Time after he departed from his Majeſty, *Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 31.

what

what has been publiſh'd it abundantly appears, how little his Majeſty was preſs'd with the Weight of their Divines Argument: Would to God he could as eaſily have blown away the Weight of thoſe Bullets, the Force whereof he had more than once in Battel ſuſtain'd, *Gauden*, againſt your Confederates! But to return from them to you. What, I beſeech you, *Gauden*, is there ever found in your Writings, but what is poor and flat? but mere Circumlocutions of Words cover'd with a certain thin Varniſh, which at firſt reading immediately vaniſhes and evaporates into Smoke? What, I pray you, in the King's, but ſolid, nervous, cloſe, and eloquent? And in this Book, what is there not manifeſtly Divine, and ſavouring of a Soul, not like yours, always groveling upon the Earth, and gaping after Riches, but far more ſublime, and earneſtly aſpiring to a Crown of Martyrdom, which it was ſoon to obtain? Indeed that any Mortal beſides the Royal Martyr wrote theſe Divine Dictates of a heavenly Soul, is what no Man ever ſeriouſly ſuſpected; not even *Milton* [1], that

[1] Who wrote the firſt Book againſt it, with the following Title,

that other declared Enemy (like *Gauden*) to this Book of the King, yet herein much unlike him, in that he was always more eloquent, and ſhew'd far more Oratory in the worſt Cauſe, than ever *Gauden* did in the beſt. But if that moſt inſolent Artificer of Frauds and Subtleties had a mind

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Title, Εἰκονοκλάστης, in Anſwer to a Book intituled, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, the Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, in his Solitudes and Sufferings; firſt printed in 4to, 1649. with only the two initial Letters of the Author's Name, *J. M.* but reprinted in 8vo with his Name at length, juſt after the Revolution; the Publiſher beſt knows with what Intent. However that profligate Author, amongſt all the Scandal wherewith he aſperſes the bleſſed Martyr, had not the Impudence to rob him of the Honour of writing that Divine Book, but both in his Preface, and through his whole pretended Anſwer to it, takes it for granted to have been compoſed by his Majeſty. This Piece was anſwered in 1651, by a Book intituled, Εἰκὼν ἄκλαστος, the Image unbroken, a Perſpective of the Impudence, Falſhood, Vanity, and Prophaneneſs, publiſhed in a Libel intituled, Εἰκονοκλάστης, &c. ſaid to be written (ſays Mr. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 196.) by Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, one that had cloſed with the Presbyterians in 1641, had intruded upon Dr. *Walter Raleigh*'s Living when he was thrown out, and kept a Seminary there during the Uſurpation, contrary to his Oath; and yet was prevailed upon by the Force of Truth to chaſtiſe that impious Libel againſt the beſt of Kings. On the reprinting of *Milton*'s Εἰκονοκλάστης, there was likewiſe publiſhed againſt it a Sheet intituled, Our modern *Demagogue*'s Modeſty and Honeſty in its true Light, being a Vindication of the Royal Martyr's ſacred Memory, from the antiquated Calumnies and Fictions of the Villain *Milton*, as they are lately reviv'd with Additions by ſome bellowing Relicts of the Bulls of *Baſan*. In a Letter to a Friend. The Motto, *Tit.* i. 12.

to

to produce any Thing in publick, confirm'd by no good Man's Teſtimony, whereby to transfer to his own private Subſtance or Poſſeſſion what belonged to any other Man whatever, even of his fellow Subjects, that had always been accounted the rightful Poſſeſſor thereof; whatever Pretence of this Nature is ever made to another's Damage, ought to be rejected with a certain pious Indignation of all Men, not only as of no manner of Force, but as highly impious. Yet perhaps it may have been lawful for *Gauden*, though for none elſe (at leaſt in order to get a Biſhoprick, and purchaſe the beſt Revenues of the Church) to dare with a ſacrilegious Hand to do that againſt thoſe moſt ſacred Remains of the Royal Martyr, (apparently his Majeſty's by ſo many Tokens and by all ſorts of Right) which it would have been accounted a Wickedneſs to be deteſted of all Men, to attempt againſt the Property of any of his fellow Subjects.

But Dr. *Walker*, when ſome Years above the Age of ſeventy, and forty four Years after the King's Book was publiſh'd, takes upon himſelf to revive this moſt impudent Fiction of *Gauden*'s; and immediately after

he had publiſhed a ridiculous [m] Piece of his own and his Wife's conjugal Life, full of little trifling Stories, whereby he expos'd himſelf to all Men's Scorn and Deriſion; he takes his Pen in Hand again, to employ it upon this Fiction; but with a Succeſs equally unfortunate: For he ought to have remember'd, that Faithfulneſs is at leaſt of ſome Moment in writing Hiſtory, as well as in conteſting a Matter of Right. But Dr. *Walker*, as if Faith and Veracity were of no Importance, draws up this [n] Romance of his without appealing to the Faith of any one whatever; as if the leaſt Regard would be had to his Faith alone (which he learnt formerly from his Preceptor *Gauden*, a Profeſſor of Subtlety and Deceit, as well as of new Divinity) eſpecially in the Royal Martyr's Cauſe, againſt whoſe moſt ſacred Majeſty they were both accounted ſworn Ene-

[m] Intituled the holy Life of Mrs. *Elizabeth Walker*, late Wife of *A. W.* D. D. *&c.* giving a modeſt and ſhort Account of her exemplary Piety and Charity, *&c. London* 1680, 8vo, with ſome uſeful Papers and Letters written by her on ſeveral Occaſions. *Wood Faſt. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *p.* 797.

[n] Intituled, a true, modeſt, and faithful Account of the Author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, or, the Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his Solitudes and Sufferings, with an Anſwer to all Objections made by Dr. *Hollingworth*, and others, in Defence of the ſaid Book.

mies.

mies. Yet *Walker* found a very convenient Time to vent the Malice he had harboured in his envenom'd Breaſt againſt that moſt holy Martyr, namely, when all the Calumnies of old moſt undeſervedly thrown upon his Majeſty, and long ſince forgotten, were again call'd back from Hell; and when [o] *Ludlow*, the only Survivor of the Regicides,

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[o] Son of Sir *Henry Ludlow* of *Mayden Bradley* in *Wiltſhire*, who ſerved for that County in the Parliament which met *November* 3, 1640; and as the Father was a great Enemy to the King, ſo the Son join'd with the Presbyterians at the breaking out of the Rebellion, and became a Colonel, Governor of *Wardour* Caſtle in his own County, a chief Officer in the Parliament Army, and at length one of the Regicide Judges. After the King's Murther he was made Lieutenant General of the Parliament Army in *Ireland*, and Lord-Deputy for a Time, on the Death of *Ireton*. In *Oliver*'s Time he was a Major-General, a grand Fanatick, and a zealous Favourer of all that were Anti-monarchical; but upon a Foreſight of the King's Reſtoration he fled into *Switzerland*, was at *Lauſanne* with *Goff*, *Whaley*, and *Farre*, when *Liſle* was killed there in *Auguſt* 1664, and ſoon after with his Wife retired to *Zurich*.

With Regard to his coming over into *England* juſt after the Revolution, Mr. *Wood*, from whom I have the former Account of him, ſays, that by Letters dated *London September* 19, 1689, he was inform'd that *Ludlow*, who had lived ſeveral Years in *Switzerland*, was daily expected at *Weſtminſter*, with four Deputies from the Cantons, to make an Offer to King *William*, to raiſe Men in that Country for his Service. He adds, that he was ſure *Ludlow* was then in *London*, and that it was ſo notorious, that about the 7th of *November* following, Sir *Edward Seymour* preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty from the Houſe of Commons, that he would be pleaſed to put out a Proclamation for the apprehending of him, on which he returned to *Switzerland* in

cides, was not afraid to return into *England*, ſent for, as was reported by his Friends, one or two of them Men of no vulgar Note.

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in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age. *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 884. The Account we have of this Matter in the *Preface* to that Gentleman's own Memoirs, *p.* 7. is this: That when the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, *Londonderry* only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the Hands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and the Lieutenant General (he means *Ludlow*) was ſent for as a fit Perſon to be employed to recover it from them: When the *Britiſh* Refugees (meaning the other outlawed Rebels) were glad to hear him named for that Service, and he, in an Extaſy to ſerve his Country any where, was arrived in *England*; the Reception he found there was ſuch, as ought rather to be forgotten, than tranſmitted to Poſterity with any Remarks upon that Conjuncture. Thus, ſays his Prefacer, being denied the Honour of dying for his Country, he returned to the more hoſpitable Place from whence he came. Hoſpitable indeed in the ſame Senſe, that another Author, ſpeaking alſo of *Ludlow*, but with leſs Friendſhip for Rebels and Regicides, calls the *Dutch our dear, dear, very dear Friends*, for giving Protection to them. *Ludlow*, ſays he, who fled from Juſtice, and ſeveral other old Army Officers, ſhelter'd themſelves there, meaning in *Holland:* There the Villains were protected, and the Traytors found a ſecure *Aſylum*. Indeed, adds he, it was wonderful kind for a neighbouring Nation to protect proſcribed Rebels from Juſtice, nay and aſſiſt them in their Return to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, that had made them *high and mighty* from *poor and miſerable*. Twice, ſays he, did that notorious Rebel *Ludlow* eſcape the Sword of Juſtice by flying to *Holland*; yet ſee the incomparable Impudence of that Traytor: He braved Juſtice to her Face, and a third Time ventured to come over, not ſneakingly and in Diſguiſe, but openly and barefaced, at the Prince of *Orange*'s Invaſion in 1688. So far from fearing the Puniſhment which his Crimes deſerved, and for which he ſtood outlawed, that preſuming upon his impious Services, he expected a Reward from them. That he came at the Time of that Invaſion, as it agrees neither with Dr. *Barwick*'s Account, nor with that of Mr. *Wood* now mentioned; ſo it is moſt probably a Miſtake.

Note. But *Walker* rather choſe, that *Gauden* his Patron, and a grave Divine (as he deſir'd to be accounted) ſhould be branded with the Mark of a Forger and Impoſtor, than miſs any Occaſion of defiling the ſacred Aſhes of the Royal Martyr.

To the Life of Dr. *John Barwick*, which I wrote twenty Years ago, if it may conveniently be done, I deſire this *Appendix* may be added, which that it was dictated by me, though by Reaſon of the Blindneſs of my Eyes written by a Friend, I atteſt by ſubſcribing my Name in the beſt manner I am able.

P. BARWICK.

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a Miſtake. Yet this Author aſſerts it very roundly; for he proceeds thus: This very Perſon (ſpeaking ſtill of *Ludlow*) came over with the Prince of *Orange*, and was no ſmall Inſtrument in the Revolution; for which Service he had receiv'd a Reward, had not the Odiouſneſs of his former Character rendered him ſo loathſome to the Court, that ſeveral Perſons of Quality could not bear him, who remonſtrating to that Prince the Scandal of entertaining a proſcribed Rebel, and one of his Grandfather's Judges, he generouſly and like a pious Grandſon iſſued forth a Proclamation for apprehending him ſome Weeks after he had made his Eſcape. *A Taſte of the Saints Submiſſion, Loyalty, and Moderation before and ſince the Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second*, p. 7.

APPENDIX

OF

Letters and other Papers, &c.

N°. I.

Letters between King *Charles* the First under his Confinement in the Isle of *Wight*, and Mr. (afterwards Sir *Henry*) *Firebrace*.

1.

D.

SINCE I see that *A.* cannot stay, you must take the more Care to settle the Intelligence between my Friends and me at *London*; to which end, I hope, you have shewn the Packet to *F.* I have

* written

written to *W.* but it is only to refer him to you: Wherefore let him know, that the Narrowneſs of the Window was the only Impediment of my Eſcape, and therefore that ſome Inſtrument muſt be had to remove the Bar, which I believe is not hard to get; for I have ſeen many, and ſo portable, that a Man might put them in his Pocket, and yet of Force ſufficient to do more than this comes to: I think it is called the endleſs Screw, or the great Force. Likewiſe acquaint him with thoſe other Ways, that were in Diſcourſe among us; deſiring him upon the whole Matter (as well upon his own as other Men's Inventions) to give his Judgment, which is the moſt probable Way to effect this Buſineſs.

I ſhall diſpatch all my Letters this Night, to wit, four: That with the *French* Superſcription, is for my Wife, and you are only to deliver it into *Withering*'s Office before *Thurſday* at Night, as a Merchant's Letter for *France:* That which is directed to Mr. *John Pile* is for *W.* That all in Cyphers is for Dr. *Fraiſer*; and the fourth is for *Loe* the Merchant, to whom alſo you muſt give thoſe Things that I have ſigned, and tell him, that he muſt not make uſe of them, but

but according to ſuch Directions, as he will find in my Letter to him.

Except you have more than I, there is no need of altering more Letters than I have done: If you can, let me ſpeak with you this Night at the Chink.

J.

You ſee that I am better than my Word; but however I deſire to ſpeak with you; if it were but to know, whether or not you underſtand all my Directions.

2.

D.

I ſhall not fail to make *L.* finiſh the Bar; and you ſhall have a full Diſpatch from to morrow: I have the *Aqua Fortis*, but can find no Stockings; wherefore do not forget to give me them to morrow.

J.

3.

Mr. Firebrace's *Letter to the King.*

SIR,

THE Duke of *York* is gone away, whither it is not known: But he's certainly

tainly gone, on *Friday* Night laſt: I hope you will not be long after him. This Night I have thought of a new Project, which, by the Grace of God, will effect your Buſineſs. 'Tis this: In the Back-Stairs Window are two Caſements, in each two Bars; one of the Bars in that next the Door ſhall be cut, which will give you Way enough to go out. I am certain the Top of the Hill comes within a Yard of the Caſement; ſo that you may eaſily ſtep out, and creep cloſe to the Wall, till you come to a hollow Place (which you may obſerve as you walk to morrow) where with Eaſe you may go down, and ſo over the Out-works. If you like this Way, it ſhall be carried on thus. *Hen. C.* ſhall cut the Bar, and do up the Gap with Wax or Clay, ſo that it cannot be perceiv'd: I have already made it looſe at the Top; ſo that when you intend your Buſineſs, you ſhall only pull it, and it will come forth. You muſt ſup late, and come up ſo ſoon as you have ſup'd. Put off your Geo. and on your grey Stockings, and upon Notice to be given you by *H. C.* come into the Back-Stairs, and ſo ſtep out. We ſhall meet you, and conduct you to your Horſes, and from thence to the Boat. I have told him

him of it, and he'll undertake it; therefore pray leave ſome of your Files, that he may try to morrow, when you are at Bowles. If you think to try this Way, I believe it not neceſſary to tell any elſe of it beſides *Z*.

You keep Intelligence with Somebody that betrays you; for there is a Letter of your's ſent to the Governor from *Derby-Houſe* (in Characters) wherein you expreſs in Words at length, that though they do remove *Titus*, *Dowcett*, and *Firebrace*, yet you deſpair not of your Buſineſs, or to that Purpoſe. Therefore pray think to whom you writ ſuch a Letter, and be careful: God knows what Hurt this may do. I ſhall have a Note to you from *W.* to morrow.

D.

If you like this Way return the
Note with your Senſe.

The King's Anſwer at the bottom.

Let none know of this Way, but only *Z.* only we muſt be ſure that Horſes be ready on the other ſide of the Water.

J.

D. I do

4.

D.

I Do extremely well like of your neweſt Way; for if you can make me room enough to go out at the Window you mention, I warrant you (by the Grace of God) that I ſhall get down the Hill, and over the Works well enough. But I pray, for my Satisfaction, give me the Breadth of it, when one Bar will be taken away, that I may be ſure not to ſtick: And great Care muſt be had, that the filing be not diſcovered; which if you do, I ſhall not much fear any Thing elſe. I have begun my Bar, and make no doubt to effect it, without being perceiv'd; but for the Time, I cannot yet tell. As for that ſuppos'd Letter of mine, which has been ſent to the Governor, there can be no ſuch: For firſt I never ſuſpected that *W. D.* nor *F.* ſhould be ſent away before *Sunday* was Sevennight, ſince when I made but one Diſpatch, wherein I remember, I wrote two Letters in Cyphers, in one of which I made no mention at all of any one of you; and in the other, which was to my Wife, if I ſaid any Thing either of *W.* or *D*, (for I am ſure I ſaid nothing of *F.*)

it was in Cypher, and not to that Purpoſe as you are told. But it is poſſible that the Rogue *Witherings* hath diſcover'd how I ſuperſcribe to my Wife, and hath ſent one of them to the Committee: Wherefore I deſire you to enquire, to ſee if I have not gueſt right, and not to ſend that Letter you have of mine for my Wife to the Poſt-Houſe, but either to Dr. *Fraiſer*, or my Lady *Carliſle*, with a Caution not to truſt the Poſt-Maſters. For the D. of *York*'s Journey, ſeriouſly I know nothing of it, but what you have told me; but I pray God ſend him a happy Journey.

J.

If you can cut the Bar unperceiv'd, queſtionleſs this laſt Way is the beſt; and therefore I have return'd your Paper and ſome Files; but I keep ſome for my Bar: Give me an Anſwer to this by Night if you can.

5.

23. *April.*

D.

I Pray, what's the Reaſon that I had nothing this Night from *W.* nor you? For I would

I would be glad to know, in what Order he hath left Buſineſs; at leaſt if he have forgotten, I deſire you to remember to let me know, what Directions are left with *Q. F.* and *Z.* that I may govern my ſelf accordingly.

I hope this Day at Dinner you underſtood my Looks; for the Soldier I told you of, whoſe Looks I like, was then there in a white Night Cap, and, as I thought, you took Notice of him. To morrow I will begin to try the Bar, and at Night I will give you ſome Account of it. In the mean Time I hope to find ſomething from you to morrow Morning, when I come in from walking, in anſwer to this Note.

J.

6.

D.

I Deſire you firſt to remember to leave perfect Inſtructions with *L.* and *F.* how to ſend my Letters to *London*, and to receive Anſwers from thence without Suſpicion; to this end I think it beſt, that the outward Covers of all your Diſpatches ſhould be directed to ſome honeſt Townſman of *New-*

port, that may be truſted with ſo much as the Conveyance of Letters, and he to advertiſe hither, when he has any Letters; and by this Means our Packets will never run the Hazard of falling into the Governor's Fingers. Beſides, when you ſend any Expreſs, agree of ſome Token either by Word or Writing, whereby to know him from a Knave.

Of my Letters to carry to *London* (with theſe that I give you this Day) you will have one to my Wife, one to my Lady *Carliſle*, one to *W. L.* one to *A.* two to *N.* and two to *O.* For the firſt you ſhall do well to ask Advice, how it may be ſafely ſent over to *France*, and inquire well, whether or not, *Witherings* hath played the Knave. Thoſe to *O.* concern your ſelf; wherefore none elſe muſt deliver 'em. I wou'd alſo have your ſelf the Deliverer of thoſe to *N.* becauſe they are of ſome Concernment, and demand an Anſwer, eſpecially to the laſt. For the reſt, ſo that the Parties have them, it matters not much by whom; yet it were not amiſs, if your ſelf gave them to my Lady *Carliſle*.

Now as to my main Buſineſs; be careful to make *L.* rightly to underſtand the Deſign

ſign of the Back-Stairs Window, as likewiſe that other of my Window, that I may leave or chuſe, as I ſee Occaſion. Alſo you muſt remember *W.* to lay Horſes on the other ſide the Water, and let me know when and where; nor let that be long a doing; for it were a woful Thing, to loſe an Opportunity here, for want of Preparation there. As for thoſe other Deſigns you told me of, I leave thoſe to your managing, only promiſing you exact Secrecy therein, and expecting an Account from you. So much for the Affirmative: now for the Negative. You muſt not let *A.* nor *O.* know of any preſent Deſign; but give them leave to believe, that your Diſmiſſions have made us lay aſide all ſuch Thoughts for a Time.

If any, with whom I keep Correſpondence, does betray me, it muſt be *O.* yet he bragg'd to me in his laſt Letter, that he furniſhed the D. of *York* with a hundred and fifty Pounds for his Journey; but the Truth is, that *N.* (for whoſe Fidelity I will anſwer) doth ſuſpect him, and in the laſt Packet, hath given me warning of him: Concerning whom my Concluſion is; do not diſhearten him; get what Money you can of him; but do not truſt him; let me tell you, it was

not I that acquainted him with the greater Buſineſs; for I found his Name at the joint Letter you ſent me, before ever I imagined he knew of any ſuch Thing; and I aſſure you, I never wrote any Thing of Moment to him, but only made uſe of him for Conveyance of Letters, and ſending me News: In a Word, be as confident of my Diſcretion, as Honeſty; for I can juſtly brag, that yet neither Man nor Woman ever ſuffered by my Tongue or Pen, for any Secret that I have been truſted withall.

Here I ſend you my Anſwer to *Z.* unſealed, that you may read it; becauſe I refer him to you, to impart unto him all our ſeveral Deſigns; for he is the only Man, who of Neceſſity muſt know all. It was not amiſs, that you returned me back my little Packet to *W.* for I had ſent him a Letter in it, which now I find directed to you; ſo that now I have mended an Error, which I had almoſt made: for now you have what you ought to have, and *W.* no more than his own; to whom I have written very freely (wherefore you muſt deliver your Letter to him your ſelf) yet I have imparted nothing to him, either concerning *Z*'s Deſign, or that of *W. L*'s, but that of the Back-

Back-Stairs Window, referring him to you for the Particulars. As for the conveying my Letters to my Wife, you may adviſe either with Dr. *Fraiſer*, or my Lady *Carliſle*: I have now no more to ſay: but give me an Acount how you have performed all theſe Directions of mine, and be confident that I am

Your conſtant Friend,

J.

7.

26. *Ap.* 1648.

D.

I Have now made a perfect Trial, and find it impoſſible to be done; for my Body is much too thick for the Breadth of the Window; ſo that unleſs the middle Bar be taken away, I cannot get through. I have alſo looked upon the other two, and find the one much too little, and the other ſo high, that I know not how to reach it without a Ladder; beſides I do not believe it ſo much wider than the other, as that it will ſerve; wherefore it is abſolutely impoſſible to do any Thing to morrow at Night:

But I command you heartily and particularly to thank, in my Name, *A. C. F. Z.* and him who ſtayed for me beyond the Works, for their hearty and induſtrious Endeavours in this my Service, the which I ſhall always remember to their Advantage; being likewiſe confident, that they will not faint in ſo good a Work; and therefore expect their farther Advice herein. *J.*

8.

Mr. Firebrace *to the King.*

Wedneſday Night.

SIR,

IT is not ill to have more Ways than one to effect your Buſineſs; to which Purpoſe I have thought of this. If the Fellow that waits on me could be made (which I think no hard Matter) the Buſineſs might be ordered thus. A Fellow provided on Purpoſe, ſhall come in a falſe Beard, a Perriwig, a white Cap on, a Country grey or blue Coat, a Pair of coloured Fuſtian Drawers to come over his Breeches, white Cloth Stockings, great Shoes, an old broad Hat,

to

to be touched of the Evil. He ſhall make his Addreſſes to this Man of ours to get him touch'd, and pretend Commendations, or a Letter from ſome eſpecial Friend. When he is touch'd (which muſt be at Supper Time) the other ſhall take him into the Cellar, and make him drink (pretending Joy to ſee him) and carry him about, that the Soldiers may take Notice of him. You ſhall have the like Diſguiſe conveyed into your Bed-Chamber (which you may ſoon ſlip on) coming up ſo ſoon as you have ſupp'd: then my Man ſhall by a Sign give you Notice, when you may come forth, and ſafely ſlip up Stairs into a little Room there (ſhutting the Bed-Chamber Door after you, which may be done with Eaſe and without Noiſe) where you may remain a little, till he ſees the beſt Opportunity to bring you down in his Friend's Diſguiſe, and conduct you out of the Gates, and from thence to your Horſes (which he may do with much Eaſe, being well-beloved by the Soldiers.) His Friend ſhall (in ſome bye-Place of the Caſtle to be appointed) put off his Diſguiſe and leave it, and go away in his own Habit. This I conceive feaſible, if this Fellow can be made, which I doubt not; he having

having been a long Time Servant to the Pages of the Back-Stairs, and with you at *Oxford.* This is only to hint this Way to you, which, if you like it, ſhall be put in Execution. If you like it, and read it before you go forth this Morning; pray leave an Anſwer, that I may acquaint the reſt with it at our Meeting, which will be at nine this Morning.

I writ this in Haſte, and could come at no more Paper.

9.

The King's Anſwer.

D.

HAving well thought of your new Deſign, I can think but of one Objection againſt it; which is, leſt the Guards ſhould examine me as I go out; but I conceive a tryal of this may be had, without any Danger of Diſcovery: For it is but making *He. Chap.* bring in and carry out ſome ſuch Acquaintance of his ſo clothed, as you intend I ſhould be, to ſee with what Freedom he can make ſuch a Man paſs and repaſs the Guards. But in this Tryal there muſt be no falſe Beard, upon which

which a clear Judgment is eaſily made. A for the contriving of it, I like it extremely well, and therefore give you back your Note again; as alſo this for *W.* who I find is not fully ſatisfied with your Deſign, becauſe of the Danger of Diſcovery; but take no Notice of this.

J.

10.

A Key to the foregoing Letters.

A.—— Mr. *Francis Creſſet* [a].

B.—— Mrs. *Mary* Aſſiſtant to the Lady *Wheeler*, Laundreſs to his Majeſty.

C.—— Col. *William Legg* [b], Groom of the Bed-Chamber.

D.—— *Henry Firebrace* [c].

E.—— Lady *Carlile.*

F.—— Mr. *Abraham Doucett.*

G.—— The Prince.

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[a] See above, *p.* 55, *&c.*

[b] Alſo Lieutenant General of the Ordinance, and in the Time of the Civil Wars Governor of *Cheſter* and *Oxford.* He was continued Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and Lieutenant General of the Ordinance to King *Charles* the Second, and was Father of *George*, created Baron *Dartmouth December* 2d, 1682, who was Father to *William* the preſent Earl of *Dartmouth. Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 1. *p.* 177.

[c] See above, *p.* 87, *&c.*

H.—— Lady

H.—— Lady *Wheeler.*
J.—— The King.
K.—— Lady *Obigny* [d].
L.—— Mr. *Richard Osborn* [e].
M.—— The Queen.
N.—— Mrs. *Whorwood*, Wife of *Broom Whorwood.*
O.—— Mr. *Low* a Merchant in *London.*
S.—— The Duke.
T.—— Mr. *John Burrows.*
W.—— Captain *Titus* [f].
Z.—— Mr. *Ed. Worſely*, late Sir *Edward* in the Iſle of *Wight.*

N°. II.

THESE are to certify, that our late dread Sovereign of bleſſed Memory upon the 29th Day of *January* 1648, being the Day immediately before that horrid and execrable Murder was committed upon the Perſon of his ſacred Majeſty, did give me in Charge, to recommend to his Son, our gracious Sovereign that now is, Mr. *Henry Firebrace*, as having been a Perſon very

[d] See above, *p.* 63. [e] See above, *p.* 89.
[f] See above, *p.* 87.

faithful

faithful and ſerviceable to him in his greateſt Extremities, and moſt ſtrict Impriſonments, and therefore fit to be employed and intruſted by his Majeſty that now is. Given under my Hand this five and twentieth Day of *November* 1661.

W. Cant.

N°. III.

King Charles *the Second to General* Monk.

Superſcrib'd T. *Collen* 12. *Aug.* 1655.

ONE who believes he knows your Nature and Inclinations very well, aſſures me, that notwithſtanding all ill Accidents and Misfortunes, you retain ſtill your old Affection to me, and reſolve to expreſs it upon the ſeaſonable Opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We muſt all wait patiently for that Opportunity, which may be offered ſooner than we expect: When it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean Time, have a Care to keep your ſelf out of their Hands, who know the Hurt you can do them in a good Conjuncture, and can

never but ſuſpect your Affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Your very affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

N°. IV.

Superſcrib'd B.

4th *May* 1659.

SIR,

YOur's of the 9th of the laſt Month, to your other Friend, and my ſelf, are ſafely come to our Hands, which is the only Letter we have received from you, ſince my laſt to you; which I only mention: becauſe a good Friend ſent me Word that you had written by a former Conveyance, which hath not brought it to us. For the Account of the proceed of the Goods, which were ſent to you, I ſhall ſay no more (for we do not clearly, comparing former Letters with the laſt, underſtand it) but that the Perſon truſted by you hath paid in ſeven hundred twenty and five Pounds, which is all he acknowledges himſelf to be charged with the Receipt of: For the other two hundred Pounds, it is referred to you and the honeſt Merchant, to make what Compoſition

on you think fit; except you ſee, that in a little Time the whole may be recovered. This laſt Parcel (of which I ſuppoſe we have had former Advertiſement) will come in by Degrees, and you muſt take Care to make all Acknowledgments to the Perſon; for in Truth it comes very ſeaſonable, as any Thing elſe of that kind would do: We hear yet but of half the Parcel, the other being it ſeems not yet ſent.

There is no Remedy to be applied to the Fears and Apprehenſions of thoſe, who may be put to ſuffer upon ill Accidents; therefore I ſhall for the preſent ſay no more of the Perſon, to whom the Money ſhould be made payable; it being an Exception I never heard before, nor can enough comprehend the Reaſon of it; ſince the Buſineſs of Returns concerns Men of all Nations, nor is any Merchant bound to know the Perſon, to whom Money ſhall be paid.

I am much troubled that the Perſon, which it ſeems is ſo well inſtructed in all Particulars, is not yet come to us. I hope he hath met with no ill Accident; and his Arrival is moſt impatiently longed for. I have a full Joy for the Recovery of your ſick Friend, and am willing to flatter myſelf, that

that the Time is drawing on, that we may enjoy each other; and ſure if ſome of his Friends did not think ſo, it would be impoſſible that they ſhould ſo much neglect an Affair of Importance, which you and he will well underſtand by this Inſinuation, and upon which the Hearts of your beſt Friends are ſo much fixed; I do wiſh that your other moſt Reverend Friend (who hath expreſſed ſo much Indulgence to my laſt Suit, and to whom you are to repreſent all the Regard of this Place) knew what hath been done here towards it, and what Importunity hath been uſed from hence, how ineffectually ſoever. And it is great Pity, that ſome diſcreet honeſt Perſon is not ſent over, which we have ſo often begged, who might let us know the clear Thoughts of our Friends there, and carry back poſitive Directions from hence. This Letter may be ſo long upon the Way, that it will be to no Purpoſe to ſend you any News, but what may be the ſame a Month hence; and therefore I ſhall only tell you (that you may not believe that we have laid aſide the Thoughts of Books, and all good Learning) that Dr. *Creyghton* [b] hath been

[b] Dr. *Robert Creyghton*, born in the North of *Scotland*, and elected

been theſe many Months in preparing the Hiſtory of the Council of *Florence* in Greek, which he tranſlates into Latin from a Copy, which will be judged very authentick, and ſure will be a Work very welcome to the World; it will be ready for the Impreſſion at *Leyden* within theſe twenty Days. And now I am ſpeaking of Books, I pray tell me, what Melancholy hath poſſeſſed poor Mr. [b] *Thorndike?* And what do our Friends think of his [c] Book? And is it poſſible that he would publiſh it, without ever imparting it, or communicating with them? His Name and Reputation in Learning is too much made

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elected from *Weſtminſter* School to *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, *Anno* 1613, afterwards Publick Orator and Greek Profeſſor of that Univerſity, *December* 17, 1632; inſtalled Treaſurer of *Wells* on the Collation of Archbiſhop *Abbot*; and 1637 made Dean of St. *Burian's* in *Cornwall*, and about the ſame time Doctor of Divinity. Suffering much in the Rebellion, he retired firſt to the King at *Oxford*, and after his Murther, to King *Charles* the Second at the *Hague*, and was Chaplain to both. At the Reſtoration he took Poſſeſſion of the Deanery of *Wells*, granted to him before; and *June* 19, 1670, was made Biſhop of that Dioceſe, and died *November* 21, 1672, about the ſeventy ninth Year of his Age. See more of him *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 861, 862. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 72.

[b] See above, *p.* 339.

[c] Moſt probably his Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of *England*, *&c.* printed the ſame Year this Letter was writ, *viz.* 1659. That was his famous Book, and gave much Offence.

uſe of, to the Diſcountenance of the poor Church; and though it might not be in his Power to be without ſome Doubts and Scruples; I do not know, what Impulſion of Conſcience there could be, to publiſh thoſe Doubts to the World, in a Time when he might reaſonably believe, the worſt uſe would be made, and the greateſt Scandal proceed from them. I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd *May* 25.

Indorſed *Maij* 7, 1659.

N°. V.

Superſcrib'd
For Mr. *Burden.*

4th *June* 1659.

SIR,

I Have received your's of the 19th of the laſt Month, and your laſt of the ſecond of this by an honeſt Bearer; but the other you mention of the ſame Day when the Parliament

liament was diſſolved, is not yet come to my Hands; and I plainly find by your's, that two of mine which might then very well have been with you, were ſtill upon the Way, but I am confident will come at laſt to you; and therefore I ſhall not repeat any Thing I then ſaid. With your laſt of the ſecond I received a Letter for your Friend the Merchant, but a Direction to open it myſelf, if he were not in the Way; and he being then at *Fluſhing*, I opened it accordingly, and ſent the encloſed to Mr. *Shaw*[d]; ſo that Affair ſtands very well, of which I have ſince informed your Friend, and all ſtands clear with him.

Your Mutations in *England* are ſo ſignal, that you cannot blame Men's Curioſities, if they deſire to have as particular and frequent Advertiſements of all that paſſes, as may be; yet I do not wiſh you ſhould write by any other Conveyance, than that you moſt truſt.

There is an eſpecial Occaſion, in which Mr. *Thorneton* is to lay out ſome Money for your Friend here; and therefore I am to

[d] I ſuppoſe the Perſon mentioned above in the King's Letter, *p.* 179, and the ſame that was afterwards Sir *John Shaw*, Collector of the Cuſtoms Inwards.

deſire you from him, that when ſo much comes to your Hands, you would pay fifty Pound to Mr. *Thorneton*, which ſhall be allowed. There is very much Diſcourſe amongſt the Merchants at *Antwerp*, that there is like to be a Peace with *Spain*; which I believe is ſpoken upon ſlight Grounds; yet I ſhould be glad to know what you believe there. Let me, I beſeech you, hear that your ſick [e] Friend hath perfectly recovered his Health. You have [f] another, who, I heartily wiſh, could find Means to take the Air, without which I believe a moſt important Affair will never be enough looked after.

Since the writing of this I have received your's of the 16th by this honeſt Gentleman; and the encloſed is an Anſwer to you from the King, who likewiſe ſigned theſe Acquittances, which I think are according to your Deſire; if they are not, any Thing ſhall be mended which you ſhall deſire; and I do aſſure you, the Money hath come very ſeaſonably, and been of ſingular uſe to his

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[e] Moſt probably Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, whom I take to be meant by *B. L.* in the Poſtſcript to N°. VII.

[f] I ſuppoſe Dr. *Wrenn* Biſhop of *Ely*, then Priſoner in the Tower.

Majeſty.

Majeſty. It is wiſhed, there could always remain in your Hands ſuch a Sum as you mention, for the Diſpatch of Meſſengers, of which there is like to be frequent Occaſions; and you will return hearty Thanks from the King to the Perſon, who hath ſupplied the laſt; and whatever you diſburſe upon any ſuch Occaſions, according to your Diſcretion, will be very well approved; and I am to deſire you to deliver to Mr. *Thorneton* thirty Pound, which he is to pay to a Man, who is to bring over Horſes; and therefore you are deſired, that it may be done with all Speed.

I am very ſorry that our ſick [g] Friend doth not recover ſo faſt as we wiſh, and as is neceſſary for the Publick. It is heartily wiſhed, that as ſoon as his Health will give him leave, he would return [h] to you, and conſult upon the great Affair, which conſidering the Delays have been hitherto uſed, is not like to move as it ought to do,

[g] See above, *p.* 404. Note *.

[h] Suppoſing the Biſhop of *London* to be meant, he was probably at his Manor of little *Compton* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where Mr. *Wood* tells us he ſpent ſeveral Years after the King's Murther in a devout Retirement. *Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 662. where you have a ſhort Account of him.

without another kind of Proſecution; and the King is very impatient to have that Work done. I need ſay nothing to you of our own Condition, of which the Bearer will give you a good Account, and of the Hopes we have to improve it, and that I may live to do you ſome Service, which I do heartily deſire to do, as

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd *May* 31, *S. V.*

The Order follwing is added by another Hand.

It is not the Purpoſe, that the twenty five Pound given to the Bearer for his Journey ſhould be deducted out of the fifty, which he is to diſpoſe of according to order.

N°. VI.

Superſcribed 12th *June*, 1659.
For Mr. *Brookes.*

SIR,

I Hope Mr. *Thorneton* is before this Time well with you; ſince whoſe Departure I have

have received your's without Date, by this Bearer; and ſince that, two others of the third of the laſt Month, which had lain long on the Way; and I believe ſome of mine have had the ſame Fortune in their Paſſage towards you: To the Particulars of thoſe I need not make any Reply, there being ſo great Alteration ſince; only ſhall tell you, that I know the young Gentleman [i] well whom you mention, and hope he will do good in the Company he is, towards which we do all we can; I do not ſay all that may be thought neceſſary, but all that is in our Power.

Your Affairs there alter ſo faſt, that it were to be wiſhed, as you ſay, that we could hear from thence every Day; and yet when we do hear, there remains Uncertainty enough; one Letter at the ſame Time contradicting, what another of the ſame Date affirms; as I have ſeen by this laſt Poſt two Letters from very diſcreet Men, whereof one ſays poſitively, that *Harry Cromwell* hath ſubmitted to the Parliament, and the other as poſitively, that he proteſts a-

[i] Perhaps Mr. *Wrenn*, whom I ſuppoſe to be meant by that Appellation, N°. VIII. See above, *p.* 252.

gainſt it, and hath his Army in due Obedience. Whatſoever the State now is, it is probable, that new Revolutions will quickly alter it. The encloſed will anſwer concerning the Particulars you recommended; and I think it ſo neceſſary, that we ſhould be able to communicate with each other, with more Freedom and Security in Affairs of Moment, that I think it neceſſary to ſend you the encloſed Cypher [k], which you may

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[k] This Cypher conſiſts of Numbers from 1 to 692, placed in their order on a Sheet of Paper in eleven Columns from top to bottom, the firſt Column extending from 1 to 63; after which the ſix following Numbers being omitted, the ſecond Column begins with 70 and ends with 131; the third begins where the ſecond leaves off, and ſo all the reſt, and over againſt every Number is placed the Letter or Letters of the Alphabet, or the Syllable, or the Word reſpectively for which ſuch Number ſtands; as in this Specimen, which is the beginning of the three firſt Columns. So that as he that wrote by this Cypher could readily find both in the firſt Column what Letter of the Alphabet he had occaſion to write; and in the ſeveral Lines extending from each Letter in that through all the other Columns, what Syllable, Word, or Name of Perſon or Place he wanted, according to the Letter it began with; and over againſt ſuch Letter, Syllable, Word, &c. what Number he was to put for it: So he that made uſe of it to decypher any thing written by it, could as readily find the Number he was decyphering, and over againſt it the Letter, Syllable, Word, &c. meant thereby.

A.	1	ab-70	af-132
	2	ad-71	ar-133
	3	ac-73	ap-134
B.	4	by-73	bi-135
	5	ba-74	bo-136
	6	be-75	bu-137
C.	7	ca-76	co-138
	8	ce-77	cu-139
	9	ci-78	cr-140

But

may pleaſe to uſe upon all emergent Occaſions; I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd *June* 10.

But to render the Cypher more difficult to be found out, as each Letter in the Alphabet is repreſented by three ſeveral Numbers, except K, w, and Y only by two, and X and Z by none: So ſeveral of the Numbers have no Letter, Syllable, or Word over againſt them, becauſe they ſtand for nothing, and were only us'd to perplex ſuch as ſhould attempt to read what was written hereby, without the Help of the Cypher. So ſeveral of the Letters were ſuperſcribed with Numbers ſignifying nothing, ſome with two or three Lines of them, only to puzzle the Enemy, if they ſhould fall into their Hands, which I the rather mention here, becauſe ſome Perſons, for want of examining thoſe Superſcriptions, as printed in the Appendix to the Latin Life (p. 358, 360, 389, 396, and 427.) with the Cypher alſo publiſhed there, have wondered what was the meaning of them: and it was for the ſame Reaſon, that ſeveral of the Chancellor's Letters, beſides the Number denoting his Name, were ſubſcribed with other Numbers, that either had nothing in the Cypher to anſwer them, or nothing to the Purpoſe. As to the Superſcriptions, *B.* or any Name beginning with *B.* ſeems to have ſignified *Barwick.*

No. VII.

June 21, 1659.

I Cannot more reaſonably preſume of doing ſome good by [1] it, than by making uſe of the firſt Fruits of it in the Service of God and his Church. And firſt in tendering the moſt humble Submiſſion of the Reverend Fathers of it to his ſacred Majeſty by your Lordſhip's Mediation, and their dutiful Acknowledgment of his pious and Princely Care of her: And next in preſenting their humble Thanks to your Lordſhip, for the many good Offices you have done for her. And in this Rank the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Biſhop of *Salisbury* deſire to have a particular mention, as being more particularly obliged to your Lordſhip for your particular Expreſſions to them. The grand Affair of the Church is ſtill in Motion towards that

[1] This Letter is Dr. *Barwick*'s to the Lord Chancellor, and ſeems to be imperfect at the beginning, where ſomething might perhaps be ſaid concerning the Cypher (inclos'd in his Lordſhip's laſt Letter) which was not material to be printed; and yet it is no unuſual Thing in Letters to refer to what is only in the Mind of the Writer.

happy

happy Concluſion, which his ſacred Majeſty is ſo piouſly zealous for, with what Speed may reaſonably be uſed in a Matter of ſo great Importance and Difficulty. The Liſt of Names and Places which his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend, hath much facilitated the Work in ſeveral Inſtances; for thereby are cut off all Occaſions of Diſpute in relation to the Number, Perſons, and Sees. And as for the manner of their proceeding in that great Work, your Lordſhip is humbly deſired to aſſure his Majeſty, that they have adviſed with the beſt Council at Law this Place affords, not only in order to the ſecuring of the Work and their own Perſons, but alſo for the Defence of his Majeſty's Prerogative from the leaſt Hazard of any Infringement, which they always intended, and ſtill reſolve to preſerve inviolable: And that being done, they are fully aſſured of his Majeſty's Piety and Goodneſs in giving Way, that this great Affair (upon which not only the Security, but the very Being of this Church may poſſibly hereafter depend) may be tranſacted in ſuch a Method, as may beſt ſtop the Mouths of all Adverſaries, and be moſt agreeable to the Canons and Practice of the Primitive Church (eſpecially in the

firſt four general Councils) and give the greateſt Security to the Perſons of all that ſhall be concerned in it (either as Conſecrators or Conſecrated) from any Perſecution that may poſſibly be raiſed againſt them for it, in caſe it cannot be concealed. I perceive by ſeveral Paſſages of your Lordſhip's late Letters, what an high Eſteem you have of the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in this Cauſe; and to ſay nothing of the reſt, I can aſſure your Lordſhip, that ſince the heavy Burthen of ſoliciting this Buſineſs was impoſed upon me, nothing hath either been acted or deſigned, but by their full Approbation; nor any thing omitted, which they thought neceſſary: So that all the Delays, which have intervened, have proceeded from the Difficulty of ſo weighty a Work, in ſo bad Times, and will be taken off as ſoon as poſſibly may be.

I have herewith ſent your Lordſhip an Extract out of the laſt Letter I received from the one of them (that I may give your Lordſhip ſome better Aſſurance than my bare Word, what their Apprehenſions are, as to this particular) for it fully agrees with what I found to be the Senſe of the other upon

upon ſeveral Diſcourſes, excepting only that Paſſage of the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Time. It was occaſioned by what your Lordſhip commanded me to ſignify to him (which I did *in terminis*) together with what I could collect from the Diſcourſe of Mr. *Alleſtrey*, was your Lordſhip's Senſe upon the Caſe. There is nothing in it, which your Lordſhip will not ſee to the bottom, without my Commentary, excepting that Paſſage—— *But for the manner propoſed*, &c. and the Expedient thereupon, which I mentioned to him. And to clear this, I muſt beg your Lordſhip's Patience, firſt to hear what I collected from the Meſſenger's Diſcourſe, and then what I propoſed by Way of Expedient. For the former (if I miſtook not) I conceive your Lordſhip's Senſe was, that the Proceeding ought to be by a *Mandat* from his Majeſty to any three or four Biſhops by way of Collation, upon the Lapſe for the Dean and Chapter's Non-Election: And that your Lordſhip grounded this Method, 1. Upon his Majeſty's Prerogative. 2. Upon a former Conſultation with the Biſhop of *Ely*. And 3. Upon the conſtant Practice in *Ireland:* In all which Particulars I ſhall give your Lordſhip a faithful

faithful Account of the Senſe of our beſt Friends here; and then ſubmit the Matter to your Lordſhip's ſecond Thoughts. Firſt, it is the Opinion of them all, that the Suppoſal of a Lapſe would more impair the King's Prerogative, than the Collation could advance it; becauſe it would preſuppoſe a Power of Election *pleno Jure* in the Deans and Chapters, which they have only *de Facultate Regiâ:* And for them to petition for ſuch a Licence would be as difficult, as to elect, if they had it; many of the Deans being dead, ſome Chapters extinguiſhed, and all of them ſo diſturbed, as they cannot meet in the Chapter-Houſe, where ſuch Acts regularly are to be performed: And beſide this, ſuch Petitions were never attempted, till the King's Pleaſure was intimated to them, that they might petition; which was the Cauſe of the long Vacancy of ſome Biſhopricks. 2. For the Biſhop of *Ely*, his own Anſwer is, that what he delivered as his Opinion in the former Conſultation, was to ſupply thoſe Defects, that could not be avoided in Capitular Elections (ſuppoſing always the Neceſſity of ſome Election according to the conſtant Practice of the whole Church of Chriſt) and that

ſince he conſidered of the Method now on Foot, he is clearly of Opinion, it will conſiſt as well with his Majeſty's Prerogative, and much more with the antient Canons of the Church. And 3. For the Practice in *Ireland*, the ſame Reverend Perſon's Reply to me was, that he did not more deſire to live to ſee his Majeſty's Face for any other Cauſe, than that he might become an humble Petitioner, that the like Liberties might be reſtored to the Church of *Ireland*, which are continued in *England*; which would be a great Honour to his Majeſty here, and a greater Happineſs hereafter. And if your Lordſhip pleaſe to appoint any to turn over *Binius* (*Tom.* 3, to *Page* 332. of the *Paris Edit.*) you will find the Senſe of that famous Council of *Chalcedon* as to this Particular, in a Caſe not only reſolved by the Fathers, according to the Laws of the Church, but judged by the Emperor's Commiſſioners in that Council, to ſtand in Force for future Practice. And this is one of thoſe four Councils, which were always held of greateſt Veneration in the Church, and are ſtill ſo much countenanced by the Laws of *England.*

Now

Now for the Expedient mentioned in my Letter to *D. T.* it was, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to grant his Commiſſion to the Biſhops of each Province reſpectively, to elect and conſecrate fit Perſons to ſuch and ſuch Sees, either aſſembled in Provincial Council, or otherwiſe, as they ſhould find moſt convenient, (His Majeſty ſignifying, as he hath done, his Pleaſure concerning the Places and Perſons) with ſuch diſpenſative Clauſes, as ſhould be found neceſſary upon the Emergency of the Fact; which Commiſſions may bear date before the Action, though all Contingencies which may be neceſſary to be diſpenſed with, cannot be ſo clearly foreſeen, as to have them drawn up, till the Thing be done: And then afterward upon Certificate and Petition, to have his Majeſty's Ratification and Confirmation of the whole Proceſs; and the Regiſter to be drawn up accordingly by the chief Actuary, who may take his Memorials hence, and make up the Record there. And if this ſeem reaſonable to your Lordſhip for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Prerogative, it would be one of the greateſt Obligations you can lay upon the Fathers and Sons of this poor Church, to ſatisfy his

Majeſty in the whole and every Branch of it. I know, when I have wearied your Lordſhip with this tedious Diſcourſe, there may be ſeveral Doubts and Queſtions raiſed upon it, which I hope I could give more clear Satisfaction unto, if I were preſent; and therefore I humbly deſire, that the Merits of the Cauſe may neither depend upon this diſtance of Place, nor the Haſte I write in, and leaſt of all upon the Inabilities of the Manager of it. I hope your Lordſhip's candid Interpretation of all Things, will make this Letter ſupply the Want of ſending ſome Perſon, to give an Account of this Affair, and perhaps him who is moſt unfitting in ſeveral Reſpects for ſuch an Employment, and who to the beſt of his Power will not be idle (as Occaſion is offered) though he be excuſed in this Particular.

I have no more to add upon this Account, but only that ſeeing none is yet nominated for *Carliſle*, it is the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Opinion (and his Pleaſure I ſhould ſignify it as ſuch) that your Lordſhip may do his Majeſty good Service in minding him, that it hath been always the Prudence of our former Princes, to keep ſome Equality of the Ba-

lance between the two Univerſities (*cæteris paribus*) for the general Encouragement of Learning (whereunto his Majeſty may ſtill caſt in a Grain in the Nomination to this Place, if ſo it be his Pleaſure) which otherwiſe he obſerveth will be overpoiſed, when he conſiders, both who are already in the Stock, and who are deſigned for the Supply. I muſt add his Proteſtation, that this is ſaid without Inſinuation of any particular Perſon, which both he and the reſt deſire may proceed freely from his Majeſty's Choice: And they bleſs God for his Majeſty's Care and Prudence in making Choice of ſo many worthy Perſons for that great Burthen of the Government of the Church, and the ſettling the Affairs thereof, when it ſhall pleaſe God to vouchſafe us ſo great a Mercy.

One Thing more, I muſt acknowledge, Mr. *Alleſtrey* ſignified to me as your Lordſhip's Pleaſure, that I would ſend your Lordſhip Precedents of the Patents for the D. [m] of *W.* and *Ch. Ch.* And I had not omitted it, if he had not promiſed me a

[m] I ſuppoſe the Deaneries of *Weſtminſter* and *Chriſt-Church*. See N°. xii.

Copy

Copy of the latter from *Oxford*, which I have not yet received: When it comes, I hope I ſhall ſupply the other from the Rolls, or if it comes not, tranſcribe them both, if there be any Difference (for I gueſs they may there be had) and ſend them upon ſome other Opportunity. In the interim and ever I am

For the Buſineſs of the Church, the continued great Indiſpoſition of B. *L.*[n] (a Perſon very uſeful every Way) makes a new Difficulty in it. I am very much urged by ſome of the reſt to take a Journey to him, which I am very loth to do at this Time, when there may be other Uſe of me here. They are deſirous the Chaſm of *Carliſle* may be ſupplied, while other Things are preparing. It will be a hard Work to do it as it ought. I have made ſome Enquiry into Matters of this Nature, the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, and find it no Phraſe of Courſe in the Statute (8 *Eliz. C.* 1.) when they ſpeak of the great Caution was then uſed, for which they refer to the Records.

June 27.°

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[n] Biſhop of *London*. See above, *p.* 404.

° Then probably receiv'd.

N°. VIII.

Superſcrib'd B.

Bruſſels 27 *June*, 1659.

SIR,

BEing aſſured that this will be put ſafely into your Hands, and that you have already received my Cypher, I do, by the King's Command, tell you, that ſince he writ to you, he hath done all that is in his Power to promote the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, in the Way and Method you have adviſed, and hopes he ſhall have good Succeſs: Yet he deſires you to preſs your Friend [p] all you can; and that, if the [q] other doth not advance it, he will. Our Intelligence from all Parts perſuades us, that *H. Cromwell* hath not ſubmitted, as was reported; and it is a wonderful ſtrange Thing, if he can think to ſtand upon his own Legs; or indeed that he and his Family can be any other Way preſerved, but by the King's Protection: And therefore I am not with-

[p] Colonel *Redman*. [q] Colonel *Clobery*.

out

out ſome Wonder, that all his Friends ſhould not declare their Inclinations. I ſhould be very glad to hear as frequently from you, of your Hopes and Succeſs in this Particular, and in the other of *Scotland*, as is poſſible; and you may be aſſured, we leave nothing undone on our Parts, in Reference unto either, that is in our Power; for it would give infinite Reputation to the King, and make him much the more conſidered Abroad, if it were believed, he had ſuch Friends at Home.

I wiſh ſome good Friend would ſupply you, that you might not only have wherewithall to ſend Meſſengers hither upon any Occaſion; but likewiſe that you might be able to relieve any honeſt Man, who attends, and is fit to be employed, when there is Occaſion: And upon that account I do recommend the good young Man you laſt ſent, and would have mentioned him to that Purpoſe to you in the Letter I then writ; but that I knew, your Stock was out with what was aſſigned to *Jack Cooper*. But when you have any new Supply, if you relieve *Grigg* with twenty Pound, it ſhall be all owned upon Account. I ſhould be glad to hear, that you had prevailed with

the young [o] Gentleman to beſtow ſome of his Time upon *Leviathan:* And I beſeech you, preſent my humble Service to his Father, upon whom no Man looks with more Reverence; and I pray God, that his not being at Liberty, be not the Cauſe, that nothing is done in the Buſineſs of Ordination. I am ſure the King can do no more in it; and is exceedingly afflicted, that they who can, do not; when they know his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſo particularly in all Things concerning it. I pray tell me, whether my Lord of *Ely* doth not think, that my very good Friend Dr. *Coſins* hath proceeded [p] farther than he needed to have done, upon any Provocation Mr. *Fuller* could have given him. I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am very heartily

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

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[o] Mr. *Wrenn*, the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Son. See N°. x.

[p] The Piece here referred to is Dr. *Coſins*'s Letter (dated *Paris April* 6, 1658) in Anſwer to Dr. *Fuller*'s Charge againſt him in his Church Hiſtory, *Lib.* II. *fol.* 173. printed in Dr. *Heylin*'s Animadverſions on *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory. See *Heylin*'s *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 283, *&c.* Edit. 8vo, 1659.

It

It would be well, if you compounded the old Buſineſs, [9] [and] got half the Money in Hand. If two or three hundred Pounds could be procured and returned over, it would come ſeaſonably.

Receiv'd *June* 24.

N°. IX.

SIR, *Bruſſels July* 8, 1659.

I Have received your's, *&c. as above p.* 198, *to the end of the Paragraph.*

I am ſo fully convinced by your Diſcourſe in the Buſineſs of the Church, that I think my ſelf obliged to make ſome Apology for the Obſtinacy I might ſeem to have when Mr. *Alleſtrey* was here, and to tell you from whence it proceeded. You muſt know, that we have always thought this Affair of ſuch a Nature, that it is as neceſſary to make it a ſecret here, as where you are: And the Truth is, except it be to my Lord of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, and my ſelf, there is not the leaſt Thing of it known, nor, upon my Conſcience, imagined. It hath been no ſmall Affliction to me, that I have

[9] In the Cypher it is 225, which anſwers to the Word *Live*, as printed in the *Appendix* to the Latin Life: I ſuppoſe it a Miſtake for 255, which ſignifies *and*, as I here alter it.

not had any to converſe with, in a Point of ſo much Difficulty, who underſtands more of it than my ſelf; which God knows is too little: And that Affliction hath been increaſed by the very poſitive Difference of Opinion between thoſe, by whom I am very willing to be inſtructed. The [r] Biſhop of *Derry* was, and I think ſtill is ſo poſitive for the *Iriſh* Way (which I think he wiſhes introduced into *England*) that no Way ſeemed ſo ſafe to him, as conſecrating all the Perſons to void Sees in *Ireland*, and then removing them to others in *England*; which he thought would clearly elude all thoſe Formalities, which ſeem to perplex us. Dr. *Coſins*, (who to my Judgment underſtood the Affair much better, and in no Degree liked the other Way) aſſured me, that he had the Biſhop of *Ely*'s full Approbation of the former propoſed by him, of which I informed his Majeſty. And upon that Ground, and that Foundation, we adhered to that Method and Order; much preferring the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Judgment and Advice, in that Point, before any Man's: And upon

[r] Dr. *Bramhall*, See above, p. 174.

the

the ſame Ground his Majeſty is very willing to change, and acquieſce in the Opinion and Reſolution now propos'd; and leaves the whole Diſpatch of it entirely to their Care, both for the Time and the Manner. Only I muſt deſire, that the Form of ſuch a Commiſſion, as is there judged neceſſary, may be ſent us to a Letter, ſince I cannot have any Help here; and then I will be accountable for the Secrecy. I will make another Excuſe to you for that Impatience which [f] [might] appear in me, both in what I have written to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and what I might ſay to Mr. *Alleſtrey*, with Reference to the Time, and to all poſſible Haſte in the finiſhing it. I will not mention the Age of the Conſecrators; though it hath put me into many a Fright. But I will tell you a Phancy of my own, which I will acknowledge to you, hath been more the Ground of that Impatience; though it be but a Phancy, and never yet communicated to any Perſon. The late Revolutions in *England*, and the ſeveral Humours, and

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[f] In the Cypher it is 521, which anſwers to the Word *Force*, as printed in the *Appendix* to the Latin Life, I conclude it a Miſtake for 351, which ſtands for *might*, and ſo alter it.

Diſtempers,

Diſtempers, and Jealouſies in ſeveral Factions amongſt themſelves, make it a very natural Suppoſition, that there may fall out ſome avowed Treaty with the King; and then the Presbyterians will not be over modeſt, in valuing and computing their own Power; though I may tell you, I know them to be as far from Union, as any other Party. If I were a Presbyterian (and they have many wiſer Men, and who know better how to compaſs what themſelves deſire) I would not propoſe to the King to do any formed Act to the Prejudice of the Church; becauſe I ſhould deſpair of prevailing with him; but I would beſeech him to ſuſpend the doing any Thing, that ſhould contribute to the former Eſtabliſhment, till there might be ſuch a mature Deliberation, that the beſt Proviſion might be made to compoſe all Differences: and if I could prevail thus far; I ſhould hope by ſome continued Suggeſtions (which would be ſpeciouſly enough adminiſtred by Perſons of very diſtinct Intereſts) to ſpin out the Time, till all the Biſhops were dead: You may eaſily believe, there would be Concurrence enough in ſuch an Overture, from Perſons far enough from Presbyterians.

ans. In a Word, it would be grateful to too many; and not reſolutely enough oppoſed by others, who in truth mean well, but are not yet convinced of the Miſchief of Complyance in Things, which they call ſmall. If any ſuch Overtures ſhall at any Time be made to the King; I doubt not, but he will diſcern the End, and conſequently not conſent to them: yet I do wiſh in all Events, that the Succeſſion were provided for. And now I have made you my Confeſſor: and if the Conſideration be of Moment, it will prevail with thoſe, who can give the Remedy.

I pray remember my Service with all imaginable Reverence to my Lord of *Ely*, and aſſure him, that the King will always return that Candor, Benignity, and Equality to both the Univerſities, which he wiſhes; and I hope all, who ſhall be intruſted by him in that great Affair, will be as juſt and diſpaſſioned in all their Interpoſitions, and look upon them as equal Lights to Learning and Piety, and equally worthy of all Encouragement and Protection. And if at preſent my Lord of *Ely* will recommend any Perſon to his Majeſty for the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle*, he ſhall be approved: And

if

if my Lord will tranſmit a Liſt of Perſons to be ſpecially recommended to the King for any Dignities in the Church; I dare promiſe, the Perſons ſhall find, that they could not have been better recommended. I know not what more to add, but my hearty Service to your ſick[t] Friend, whoſe Health I pray for, as a publick Concernment. To your ſelf I ſhall ſay no more, but that I ſhall think my ſelf very faulty, if I do not ſerve you very heartily; and if you do not with the firſt receive ſome Evidence of the Senſe the King hath of your Service. I am very heartily,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

I pray deliver the encloſed
to Mr. *Cooper*. Receiv'd not till *Aug.* 29.

Indors'd *June* 8, 1659, (with this Note in the Dean's Tranſcript) *I ſuppoſe it ſhould be* July 8.

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[t] See above, p. 404.

No. X.

Superſcrib'd For Mr. *B.*

Bruſſels 25. *July*, 1659.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt unto you, which was of the 8th of this Month, I have received your's of the 27th of the laſt, and your others of the 1ſt and 8th of this Month, ſo that though I retain my ſelf from writing directly to you by the Poſt of this Place, becauſe I have not ſuch a Direction as will warrant it; yet you ſee your's to me comes very right that Way. Mr. *Thorneton* and Mr. *Palden* have both acknowledged the ſeveral Sums from you; which makes me wiſh, that you ſhould never be without a ſmall Sum in your Hands for ſuch Cauſes and ſudden Disburſements. I know not what to ſay more of your Friends[a] in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, the laſt whereof I hope may be of preſent Uſe; and a new Revolution may give the other an Opportunity to do what he intended.

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[a] Colonel *Redman* and Colonel *Clobery*.

I hope

I hope it is only Modeſty in Mr. *Wrenn*, that makes him pauſe upon undertaking the Work you have recommended to him: For I dare ſwear, by what I have ſeen of his, he is very equal to anſwer every part of it: I mean every part that requires an Anſwer. Nor is there need of a profeſſed Divine to vindicate the Creation from making Man a veryer Beaſt, than any of thoſe of the Field; or to vindicate Scripture from his licentious Interpretation. I dare ſay he will find ſomewhat in Mr. *Hobbs* himſelf, I mean in his former Books, that contradicts what he ſets forth in this, in that Part, in which he takes himſelf to be the moſt exact, his beloved Philoſophy: And ſure there is ſomewhat due to *Ariſtotle*, and *Tully*, and to our Univerſities, to free them from his Reproaches; and it is high Time, if what I hear be true, that ſome Tutors read his *Leviathan*, inſtead of the others, to their Pupils. Mr. *Hobbs* is my old Friend; yet I cannot abſolve him from the Miſchief he hath done to the King, the Church, the Laws, and the Nation: And ſurely there ſhould be enough to be ſaid to the Politicks of that Man, who having reſolved all Religion, Wiſdom, and Honeſty into an

implicit Obedience to the Laws eſtabliſhed, writes a Book of Policy, which I may be bold to ſay, muſt be by the eſtabliſhed Laws of any Kingdom or Province in *Europe* condemned for impious and ſeditious; and therefore it will be very hard, if the Fundamentals of it be not to be overthrown. But I muſt ask both your's and Mr. *Wrenn*'s Pardon for enlarging ſo much, and antedating thoſe Animadverſions he will make upon it.

For the Matter of the Church I can add nothing to what I ſaid to you in my laſt: And if my Lord of *Ely* will recommend a Perſon to the See of *Carliſle*, he will be added to the reſt by the King. I am very glad *Venables* diſpoſes himſelf to a preſent Engagement for the King; and I hope he will be a very fit Adviſer of Sir *George Booth*, who I believe hath good Reſolutions; but I hear he is very much diſheartened upon the Submiſſion of *H. Cromwell*, and ſeems to fear, as if Forces from *Ireland* might be poured upon him; which, methinks, is an over Apprehenſion: Therefore the *Embaſſador* wiſhes, that your Friends would ſpur on *Venables* all they can.

Though

Though your Governors are very reſerved in any ſevere Exerciſe of their Power; yet if they be let alone till they ſettle their *Militia*, they will quickly take more upon them; therefore we wiſh to hear, that the late Faſts have produced their uſual Effects; and that both the Parliament and Council of State are reſolved into the Condition of other Men, and you even in that Caſe. We are not out of Apprehenſion, that any ſingle Perſon choſen for the Government, may not, upon theſe general Rumours of Plots, do our Friends more Miſchief in four and twenty Hours, than the Parliament and Council of State have done ſince their ſitting; therefore it will be no Wonder, if the King be ready to do any Thing in his own Perſon, he ſhall be adviſ'd to by his Friends, or thinks neceſſary for their Preſervation, upon which his own Intereſt ſo much depends. I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Nov.* 10. Hyde,

N°.

N°. XI.

Superſcrib'd (For Mr. *Burges*, theſe.)

Bruſſels, July 28, 1659.

SIR,

THE Day before this honeſt Bearer gave me your's of the 11th, I had writ to you, and ſent it incloſed to him; which I hope he will find at his Return, or ſhortly after; for it goes by a ſure Meſſenger, who muſt attend the Winds; and therefore I do not repeat any Thing I ſaid then, or in my former by Sir *Abraham Shipman*, who I hope is ſafely arrived. The King is very well ſatisfied with the Account you have given him, and takes himſelf to be very much beholden to your Friend, who, in the Trouble he is in himſelf, takes his Buſineſs ſo much to Heart. His Majeſty deſires him to proſecute that of *Scotland* with as much Vigour as he can; and if *Monk* will reſolve to declare for him, his Majeſty will ſo fully truſt him, as to be with him in his own Perſon. And he hath Reaſon to be confident, that he ſhall not find many conſiderable Enemies in the North of

England. You may aſſure your [w] Friend, that he and his [x] Friend ſhall find their full Accounts with his Majeſty. The other Buſineſs of *Ireland*, I perceive, muſt attend ſome new Revolutions, which probably may be at Hand. I thank you for the Precedent, and ſhall expect the other as ſoon as you can. I am afflicted, that our ſick [y] Friend finds not his Health come on faſter. I want Advice from ſome, what Dignity in the Church would be moſt ſuitable to your Acceptation, and in what Country you would wiſh it to lye; for the King hath given me a Charge concerning it, and I am not enough inſtructed; I pray help me in it. I have not Time to add more, then that I am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

You muſt never forget my Service to my Lord of *Ely*; and if he pleaſe to recom-

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[w] Mr. *Otway.* [x] Colonel *Clobery.* [y] See above, *p.* 404.

mend

mend ſome of his Friends to the King, they will find the Fruit of it in all Ways.

Receiv'd *July* 24th, 1659.

N°. XII.

Sept. 14. 1659.

THIS is the ſecond [z] Part of my Task, and relates to the chief Thing in my preſent Intention, the Buſineſs of the Church; concerning which your laſt hath given ſo full Content to thoſe, that really mind it, and rightly underſtand it, that I am by them commanded to return their humble Thanks to your Lordſhip, and their moſt ſubmiſſive Duty, by your Mediation, to his ſacred Majeſty. It is the greateſt Evidence of God's Favour to this poor Church, that ſhe hath a Nurſing Father of ſo great Piety and Candor; and not the leaſt, that he hath a Miniſter of ſo much Fidelity and unbiaſſed Affections for her Good in every Reſpect: And it would be a very great Shame and Sin too for us, that have the Opportunity for it, if we do not upon every

[z] Another Letter of Mr. *Barwick*'s to the Lord Chancellor, on the ſame Subject with the former, N°. VII.

Occaſion humbly propoſe ſuch Things, as may give you a true Information, how that may be beſt obtained, which is ſo piouſly intended.

I much honour thoſe two Reverend Perſons, whom you conſulted in this great Affair; and if it would not be tedious as well as ſuperfluous, I could give you yet a fuller Inſight into the Grounds of our Method, as it differs from theirs, that you may not rely upon the Authority of any Man, farther than you ſee his Reaſons. But his Majeſty being already ſatisfied, and the Method approved on by your Lordſhip, my Labour will be more uſefully beſtowed, in endeavouring to promote the Work with all poſſible Speed, for thoſe weighty Reaſons mentioned in your laſt; though you are pleaſed to ſtile them no better than Phanſies.

In *July* laſt I went a Circuit among ſome of thoſe, on whom the Work doth chiefly depend; and I found them very ready and willing to advance it, but in good Hopes there would be no need of this intended Method. I hope they are ſtill of the ſame Mind and Affections; ſeeing the ſame Reaſon that damps thoſe Hopes, makes the Work more neceſſary: And I am ſure nothing

thing ſhall be wanting on my Part to ſerve them in it: And I beſeech your Lordſhip, as Occaſion ſerves, to lay as many and ſtrict Commands upon me from his Majeſty as you pleaſe, to quicken them in it: For I fear this Winter will go hard with ſome of them, that may worſt be ſpared in the due Performance of ſuch a Work.

In my laſt I deſired ſome Aſſiſtance and Inſtructions, as to ſome Particulars, that concern the Perſons nominated for Biſhops; but I was then in ſuch Haſte, as I could not give you my Reaſons for it: I hope you have ſome good Aſſurance, that all of them will undergo that great Work; and yet it is diſputable among ſome of us here: For I believe, all of them underſtand the Weight of the Burthen ſo well, as not to make it the Object of their Deſire; though I know withall, that ſeveral of them are reſigned for any Service of the Church, whatſoever the Conſequences be. Thoſe that either are of great Years, or have great Dependences of Wife and Children upon them, have the ſtrongeſt Temptations to the contrary; and I could inſtance in ſome, with whom it is thought they may prevail; but how well thoſe Thoughts are grounded, I know

not. I doubt not, but [b] S. *N.* underſtands his Brother's Mind, and you from him: but otherwiſe ſome here are in doubt, what he will do in this Caſe, as Things now ſtand; being a Perſon of much Prudence and Caution. There is another, whom I alſo much reverence, D. [c] *M.* whoſe Years and Modeſty are ſo great, as it is thought by thoſe, that know him better than I, he will rather chuſe a private Life. And it were great Pity to caſt ſuch a Load upon him againſt his Will, now when he is come to that Condition, as to need a Coadjutor, if he were already in the Office: His Sight is almoſt quite gone, and his Infirmities otherwiſe ſo great, as he can hardly come up hither to receive Conſecration, which is but the Preface to his Work. For theſe and the like Reaſons, I am encouraged by thoſe that foreſee Rubs before they come, to deſire your Lordſhip to ſend ſome more Names

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[b] Mr. Secretary *Nicholas.* See N°. xvi.

[c] Dr. *Francis Manſel* Principal of *Jeſus* College in *Oxford.* See N°. xvi. His obſtinate Refuſal of the Epiſcopal Dignity more than once, is mentioned on his Epitaph in that College, where he was interr'd. *Infulas Epiſcopales —— non ſemel oblatas, ſerio tremuit, obſtinatus refugit. Le Neve's Mon.* and that he died almoſt eighty Years old, on the Firſt of *May*, 1665.

from

from his Majeſty, to ſupply ſuch poſſible Defects as theſe, if they ſhould fall out in theſe, or any other Perſons already named.

But however I beſeech you by the firſt Opportunity to ſend the Name of a fit Perſon for *Carliſle*; for till then the Work muſt be at a ſtand; and the Biſhop of *Derry* (upon whom the Canonical Diſpatch of it, as to that Election, wholly depends) is infirm, and cannot live long. And farther, I muſt beſeech your Favour, to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning the ſupplying of the Biſhoprick of the Iſle of *Man*, which is in the Province of *York*: For though the Nomination of the Perſon belongs to the Earl of *Derby*, who deſires it may be done, and refers it wholly to them, now that the Perſon hath refus'd it, to whom he proffered it; yet they will hardly do it without his Majeſty's leave; and it is thought neceſſary to ſupply as many Places as may be within that Province, conſidering how ſmall the whole Number is, if they were all full.

My Lord of *Ely* returns all dutiful Acknowledgments to his Majeſty, and his humble Service to your Lordſhip: I perceive you miſunderſtood him, as to the poizing the Number between the two Univerſities; for

he never ſuſpected his Majeſty's equal Favour to both; nor thought him worthy of the Office of Biſhop, that is not of the ſame Temper: But however he has obſerved it, as a good Encouragement to Learning, when young Students could recount ſuch and ſuch Biſhops of the ſame Univerſity or College with themſelves. It is not now indeed ſo conſiderable; ſeeing the Rule of *Æn. Sylvius*, which was always good, is now indiſpenſably neceſſary, *Non Hominibus dandas eſſe Dignitates, ſed Dignitatibus Homines:* And for this and other Reaſons (with all dutiful Thanks) the Biſhop of *Ely* deſires to be excus'd, as to the recommending of any Perſon either to *Carliſle*, or any other Dignity; though he will not omit his Prayers, that God would direct his Majeſty always for the beſt, and at this Time more particularly; when the Settlement both of the Church and Univerſities is like to have ſo great an Influence, not only upon the Souls of Men, but alſo upon his Majeſty's Government, to all future Ages. I have heard him ſay (and I know another of the ſame Temper) that he never was Suiter for any Place in the Church; and I have heard others ſay both of him and Biſhop *Andrews* before

before him, that neither of them ever gave any to any that were. It has been too common a Miſtake, to diſpenſe ſuch Places by Favour and Affection, and call them Preferments, and look upon them as Rewards, which are indeed (eſpecially now) only new Obligations to a far greater Work, and a much greater Charge upon our laſt Account. The Iniquity of theſe preſent Times hath rectified this Error in many: And it is the Opinion of ſome Churchmen of the greateſt Underſtanding and Foreſight among us, that for one Age none can poſſibly have Occaſion to fall into it again, though all other Things ſhould anſwer our Deſire. The whole Revenue of the Church, (ſuppoſing, which yet can hardly be imagined, it ſhould return intirely and immediately) will hardly allow Neceſſaries to the firſt Incumbents, by that Time the Churches are made fit for God's Service, and the Houſes for Man's Habitation; ſo that the Straw will be wanting, and yet the Tale of Brick muſt be multiplied ten Fold. I beſeech your Lordſhip, excuſe this Digreſſion. Theſe are not my Thoughts only, but alſo of the greateſt Maſters of Reaſon of our Tribe in this Place, which your former Candor

Candor hath given me the Boldneſs to repreſent unto you, in order to the Good of the Church: and whoever of us thinks otherwiſe, will (I fear) either fall ſhort of his Hopes, or fail the Church in his Duty. A publick Spirit was always good in the Clergy, but now indiſpenſably neceſſary.

I have now ſent you the Precedents for the Grant of Deaneries, which have been ſo long expected: And I have purpoſely ſought out thoſe, that are of the moſt different Nature: And yet they differ ſo little, as I might have referred you to that I formerly ſent. Some little verbal Differences there are, and the Clauſe of *Habendum* is tranſpoſed in that for *Weſtminſter*; but which is beſt, your Lordſhip may judge: For my part, I take them rather to be caſual Slips, than any Difference in the Precedents, excepting only the Title, by which every Church is incorporated, and the Name of the laſt Incumbent; both which it would be very convenient to obſerve in all Grants of this Nature; and yet I find it not ſo neceſſary, but that one or both are omitted in ſome Precedents, eſpecially thoſe granted of late at *Oxford*. If the laſt Incumbent be to be named, it will occaſion a Queſtion as to ſome Churches now void, whether he that

that had the Grant under the Seal, but never any Inſtalment, nor ſo much as Inſtitution from the Biſhop, ſhall be reputed the laſt Dean. For Inſtance: Dr. *William*[a] *Fuller* Dean of *Ely* had the Grant of the Deanery of *Durham*, which was void by the Death of Dr. *Gualter*[b] *Balcanquall*; but never took Inſtitution to it; becauſe he would not quit the Deanery of *Ely*. Now ſuppoſing, the Plenarty of the Church in this Caſe

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[a] Born at *Hadleigh* in *Suffolk* about 1580; bred at *Cambridge*; Chaplain ſucceſſively to King *James* the Firſt, and King *Charles* the Firſt; Vicar of St. *Giles*'s *Cripplegate*; made Dean of *Ely* *Anno* 1636, and Dean of *Durham* in *March* 1645, being ſequeſter'd, plunder'd, *&c.* at *London* he repair'd to *Oxford*, and after that City was ſurrender'd, return'd to *London*, and living there very obſcurely, died *May* 12, 1659, and was interr'd at St. *Veduſtus* in *Foſter-Lane*. See more of him in *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 19. and *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 729.

[b] A *Scotchman*, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*; made Maſter of the *Savoy*, *December* 16, 1617. and ſoon after Chaplain to King *James* the Firſt, who ſent him to the Synod of *Dort*, *Anno* 1618. to be added to the four *Engliſh* Collegues, in the Name of the Church of *Scotland*. He was inſtall'd Dean of *Rocheſter*, *March* 12, 1624, and Dean of *Durham*, *May* 14, 1639; Sequeſter'd, plunder'd, *&c.* for his Loyalty in 1642: He fled to the King at *Oxford*, and thence from Place to Place for his Security; and at laſt for his Life to *Chirk-Caſtle* in *Denbighſhire*, where he died *December* 25, 1645. See *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 831. *Walker*'s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 19. *Fuller*'s *Church Hiſtory*, *Cent.* xvii. *Book* x. *p.* 79. and Dr. *Balcanquall*'s Letter to Sir *D. Carlton. L.* Ambaſſador [in *Holland*] dated *Dort*, *February* 13, 1618. printed among the Letters of Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton* College, *&c.*

is to be taken from the Inſtitution (as I conceive it muſt; being unqueſtionably ſo in Livings with Cure) then Dr. *Balcanquall* muſt be reputed the laſt Dean of *Durham*, and Dr. *Fuller*, of *Ely* (and not Dr.[c] *Beal*, who had the Grant of it, but no Inſtitution to it) and ſo in the like Caſes elſewhere, if any be. All that can be objected is a Thing, wherein I think it my Duty upon this Occaſion to give your Lordſhip as clear Information as I can; becauſe there has been a long rooted Miſtake in the Buſineſs. The Objection is, that the Grant is a meer Patent, and conſequently the Deanery is held of the King immediately *Jure Coronæ*, and not *Jure Eccleſiæ*, as where there is Preſentation and Inſtitution: To which I anſwer, *Non fuit ſic ab initio.* At firſt Deaneries were elective, as Biſhopricks are upon a *Congé d' Eſlire* (if a[d] common Lawyer miſguides me not) and I think it continued thus till *Henry* Eighth's Time, who ſeeing the Pope's Uſurpation upon the Rights of

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[c] See above, *p.* 32, 41. See alſo a farther Account of him *Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 729. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part* 2. *p.* 148.

[d] *Hughe's* Parſons Law.

Chapters,

Chapters, by Faculties and *Commendams*, took the Power from both into himſelf, under the Title of Preſentation; which afterwards (if not at firſt) paſt in the Form of a mere Patent. In King *James*'s Time I find them mingled among the other Patents at the Rolls: But in the Time of the late King *Charles*, they ſtand upon Record among other Preſentations; yet ſtill the Form of a Patent is continued. If I had the abſolute Liberty of the Rolls (as I muſt confeſs, I have had great Civilities from an honeſt Man that is ſtill a Clerk there) I could trace the Buſineſs clearly to the Fountain; but as the Caſe is, all I have ſaid is ſo conjectural, as not to be regarded any farther, than the Grounds here laid will infer; and is not intended to adviſe any preſent Alteration, but merely to inform your Lordſhip, and ſatisfy his Majeſty in a Matter not uſually taken Notice of, in caſe any Alteration may hereafter be thought convenient. Only I muſt add, that upon diſcourſing the Point with my Lord of *Ely*, he tells me, the Miſtake has been long obſerved by Arch. Biſhop *Neal* [c], and others; and that they

[c] Archbiſhop of *York*, tranſlated from *Winchester* in 1631, died *October* 31, 1640.

were

were about to give his late Majeſty a true Information in it, and petition, that it might be rectified, but were prevented by theſe late Troubles. And it is now the more conſiderable; becauſe there have been ſome ill Conſequences of late drawn from it, which gave me the firſt Hint to enquire into it. For inſtance, Dr. *Owen*[f] retorted upon Dr. *Hammond*, that (even upon his own Principles) he had no Dependence at all upon the Biſhop of *Oxford*. And I muſt confeſs, I wondered, when I firſt peruſed the Grant of the Deanery of *Chriſt-Church*, and found not the Biſhop ſo much as mentioned in it; wherein I think it differs from every other Church that is a Biſhop's See. The Truth is (to uſe my wonted Boldneſs) the Biſhop is mentioned ſlightly enough in all other Precedents, but however (as I take it) in all other Places (unleſs they were Collegiate Churches exempt from ordinary Juriſdiction) the Grant was always preſented to the Biſhop, from whom the Dean

[f] I ſuppoſe the famous Dr. *John Owen* (of whom ſee a large Account, *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 555, &c.) and probably in his Review of the Annotations of *Hugo Grotius*, &c. printed at *Oxford* 1656, 4to, in anſwer to Dr. *Hammond*.

received

received Inſtitution, and then was inſtalled by the Canons, or Prebendaries, upon the Biſhop's *Mandat*. I hear it was thus at *Ely*; and I find by the Statutes of the Church of *Durham* (whereof I have a Copy) it muſt be ſo there; and I have no Reaſon to doubt of the reſt: So that the laſt of theſe four Precedents here inclos'd (which is the King's *Mandat* for Inſtalment) was I think at firſt intended only for Collegiate Churches, which are exempt from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; though now it is iſſued forth for Cathedrals alſo. I have writ it but once over; becauſe *mutatis mutandis* it will ſerve for all: I had it from an Original, and not at the Rolls; for it ſtands not there upon Record; becauſe it paſſes not under the Great Seal, but either a Part of it, or ſome leſſer; being affixt to a ſmall Label cut off from the Parchment at the bottom. All that I ſhall need to add, as to the Precedent, is, that where I have abbreviated any Thing, it may be ſupplied from the like Clauſe in the foregoing Precedent, to avoid unneceſſary Trouble.

If your Lordſhip has receiv'd mine of the eighth paſt, I ſhall need to ſay no more; only it can be no Tautology, to preſent again my

my moſt dutiful Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's Goodneſs, in that good Opinion he hath of me, and my humble Thanks to your Lordſhip for the great Favours you expreſs continually towards me. If by a Dignity his Majeſty means a Prebend, I have one already; if a Deanery, I think I could be moſt ſerviceable to the Church of *Durham*; being acquainted with the Statutes and Cuſtoms in part, and having two Livings near it to ſupport it, if there ſhould be Need: But if any other Place be thought of more Advantage to this Church in general, or his Majeſty's Service in particular, I ſhall willingly ſubmit to his Command.

The laſt Letter I receiv'd from——

By this tedious Scribble you ſee I had rather create Objections, than not prevent all that poſſibly may be foreſeen. There is yet another, which now comes into my Mind; that in caſe any of the Biſhops, to avoid the Work when it comes to the Puſh, ſhould ask me how it doth appear, that theſe are the Perſons and Places deſigned by his Majeſty; all I can ſay is, to refer them to Mr. *Alleſtrey*'s Word; unleſs your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to ſend a Liſt of them

them in this O[g]. I ſpeak not this as though I feared it would be needful, but at all Adventures.

N°. XIII.

Bruſſels 29 *Sept.* 1659.

SIR,

I Am very willing to believe, that though many of my Letters have lain long upon the Way, they are before this Time come ſafe to your Hands; and that I need not repeat any Thing I have ſaid to you in the Buſineſs of the Church; nor can add any Thing to what I have ſaid. The King hath done all that is in his Power to do; and if my Lords the Biſhops will not do the reſt; what can become of the Church? The Conſpiracies to deſtroy it are very evident; and if there can be no Combination to preſerve it; it muſt expire. I do aſſure you, the Names of all the Biſhops who are alive, and their ſeveral Ages, are as well

[g] O may not improbably here ſtand for *Cypher*; and accordingly in N°. XVI. *p.* 464. the Chancellor promiſes Mr. *Barwick*, what he ſeems here to deſire, that he ſhall receive the Liſt in *Cypher*.

known at *Rome*, as in *England*; and both the Papiſt and the Presbyterian value themſeves very much, upon computing in how few Years the Church of *England* muſt expire. It may be the Hopes, which this laſt Summer adminiſtred, of ſeeing ſome ſhort end of theſe Confuſions, have retarded the Work: But ſure the Diſappointment of thoſe Hopes ought now to haſten it: And I have the King's Commands, to write very earneſtly to you, to ſpeak with the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and by his Advice to preſs any of the other Biſhops in his Majeſty's Name, to conſecrate thoſe Perſons which are deſigned by his Majeſty, who is moſt confident, that the Biſhop of *Ely* will give all the Aſſiſtance and Advice, which his Reſtraint will permit him to do. I have in ſeveral Letters told you the King's Pleaſure concerning the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle*; and that his Majeſty willingly approveth of the Conſecration of a fit Perſon for the Iſle of *Man*. You cannot ſend better News, than that this Buſineſs is taken to Heart, and that the King ſhall ſpeedily have a good Account of it: I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am, *Sir*,

Your very affectionate Servant, Hyde.

Receiv'd *Nov.* 10. N°.

N°. XIV.

Bruſſels Oct. 17. 1659.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt to you of the 29th of the laſt Month (incloſed, as I think, to Mr. *Thorneton*) I have received your's of the 18th of *Auguſt*, which lay ſo very long on the Way, that there is no Occaſion of replying to many Particulars in it: only I hope that you continue your Solicitation with your Friends (and they their Zeal) both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And without doubt, if there be a good Diſpoſition there, they ſhall be viſited from Abroad with ſuch Aſſiſtance, as may encourage them; and if *Monk* can be brought to any Frankneſs, and will give any Encouragement to it, I doubt not but the King, or one of his Brothers, will be able to go to him, or near his Quarters, with a conſiderable Power; but it were well he would expreſs himſelf, that he may be depended upon.

I hope *Venables* was not engaged in the Buſineſs of *Cheſter*; becauſe I do not find him named in any of the Prints; but I

would be glad to know from you, where he is, and how his Intereſt and Reſolution ſtands. I ſhall ſay only a Word to you concerning Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; that there is no Deanery in *England*, (*Weſtminſter* excepted, which his Majeſty hath in Truth deſigned to a Perſon [h] of very known and confeſſed Merit) that the King hath in the leaſt Degree made Promiſe of to any Man; ſo that it will be your Friend's Fault (who I am ſure will not be guilty of it) if you are not very well provided; and if my Lord of *Ely* had prevailed with you to have taken the Biſhoprick of *Man*, I am confident the King would not have ſuffered you to have continued there long, after your Removal could have been avowed. For the Truth is, the King hath a very extraordinary Senſe of your Merit towards him and the Church. I wiſh you would once ſend the bleſſed News, that that Affair is taken to Heart, and provided for as it ought to be. I did once in ſome former Letter offer you ſome Conſiderations, which I thought of Moment in the Point; and my Opinion

[h] Moſt probably Dr. *John Earle* made Dean ſoon after the Reſtoration, and removed to the See of *Worceſter*, *Nov.* 30, 1662.

would

would be the ſame, if I were confident, that the King could land this Winter in *England* with twenty thouſand Men: For aſſure your ſelf, thoſe Princes, who think Epiſcopacy of the Eſſence of Chriſtian Religion, would yet be very glad to ſee it determined, and expired in *England*.

I do beſeech you, preſent my humble Service to my Lord of *Ely*, whoſe Benediction I do hope to live to receive at his own Feet. I pray ſend me Word, our ſick [i] Friend is in perfect Health. I am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

N°. XV.

Nov. 21, 1659. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

I Have by this laſt Poſt receiv'd your's of the 14th, which hath been kept on your ſide of the Water, by Reaſon of the Troubles within, full three Weeks; and I have

[i] See above, *p.* 404.

ſince that, receiv'd another from you under Mr. [k] *Rumbald*'s Cover without a Date, which I conceive was writ about the 26th or 27th, to all which I ſhall anſwer in order.

I am very glad you find the Baronet [l] ſo well reſolved. I have writ for a Letter for him, which I ſhall ſend to you, as ſoon as it comes to my Hands. I am glad you have an Intereſt in Mr. *Chichly*, who is a very worthy Perſon, and my good Friend. If you find him ſtartled, or unſatisfied with the Jealouſy that he finds there is of Sir *Richard Willis* [m], of whom I know he hath had heretofore an extraordinary good Opinion; you will eaſily perſuade him, that it is not poſſible for the King to loſe the Service of one he hath truſted ſo far, upon an eaſy and a light Suſpicion; which the King's Nature is as far from, as any Vice: Therefore he muſt conclude, that his Majeſty hath ſufficient Evidence to make him forbid his Friends, to have any Commerce with him.

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[k] In the Chancellor's original Letters, his Name is always written *Rumball*, but Dr. *Barwick* writing it *Rumbaldus* in the Latin Life (*p.* 157, 172.) I conclude it to be the ſame Name that is commonly written *Rumbald* or *Rombald*, and do therefore write it ſo.

[l] Sir *Henry Yelverton* I ſuppoſe. See above, *p.* 209, 212.

[m] See above, Note [p] *p.* 185.

I am

I am ſure I need not beſpeak your Care, in this Conjuncture, which requires it, for the Negotiation with *Monk*; nor could there be any Danger in the other Deſign of interfering; and you well know, your Friend did always wiſh, that it might firſt be propoſed to him by another. Mr. *Rumbald* will be able to inform you from Time to Time, what Progreſs is made the other Way; and ſo you will eaſily help one another. I do confeſs to you, this preſent Engagement looks, as if he had ſomewhat elſe in his Mind, than to vindicate a Power, that is not in being: However that only can be the Purpoſe of Sir *Arthur* [n] *Haſlerig*. I do hope this Change may reſtore your [o] Friend in *Ireland* to Power again; however, that he will have an Opportunity to do any good he hath a Mind to.

Though a Conſumption be a very melancholy Diſeaſe; yet I am glad that it is no

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[n] One of the famous five Members of the Houſe of Commons, whom the King went and demanded of the Houſe as Traytors, and afterwards by his Attorney General accus'd of High Treaſon, together with the Lord *Kimbolton* of the Houſe of Peers. He was afterwards a conſiderable Commander in the Parliament Army, and one of the Chiefs of the Independent Republican Party.

[o] Colonel *Redman*.

worſe with Colonel *Venables*; and if you get him up to the Town, I doubt not but you will make very good Uſe of him. If Sir *Thomas Middleton* comes into theſe Parts, we ſhall all make very much of him, and do him all the Service we can, as he very well deſerves; but I believe he may from this Change, and what probably may follow it, find Encouragement to ſtay in *England*, where his Reputation is ſo great. I know not what to ſay of your Fancy of a Neutrality in the inland Countries; of which wiſe and honeſt Men upon the Place can only make a Judgment. There is no Queſtion, it would be well for the King, if there were very many Parties up in the Kingdom upon ſeveral Intereſts and Pretences; but it will be a very hard Matter for any Perſons of known Integrity, not to have their Intentions concluded, whatever their Profeſſions are: Beſides they will be in Danger of that fatal Diviſion in Point of Command, which hath deſtroyed us ſo often: And I pray God, that even the King's own Commiſſions in that kind may compoſe Men to an Obedience and Submiſſion; but, I ſay, they upon the Place can be only good Judges of it; and I am very glad

you have a Friendſhip with Mr. *Rumbald*, who upon Communication will be able to give you much Information and Advice. I know not what to add to what I have ſo often ſaid concerning the Buſineſs of the Church; the Accidents of every Day making the Work more difficult; which if they are not ſenſible enough of, who can only prevent the Miſchief; I hope God Almighty will work one Miracle more for the preſerving his Church; as he did many for the eſtabliſhing it. The *Engliſh* Letters are now come, without any from you; which I am ſorry for in this Conjuncture, when there are ſo many good Things worth our knowing. I find in the relation of *Monk*'s Proceedings, your [p] Friend mentioned as a principal Counſellor of his, and preferred by him; which I am heartily glad of; and hope that he will by Degrees prevail with the other ſo to declare himſelf, that he may be eaſily ſuperior to *Lambert* in Numbers; which yet I doubt he is not. I wiſh either of them had once done any of thoſe Actions, as would make them irreconcileable to each

[p] Colonel *Clobery*.

other,

other, and that ſome Blood were ſpilt between them. I am perſuaded the King is by this Time with his Face this Way; for the Peace being ſigned, the Miniſters were to part the 15th of this Month; and then the King intended to return nearer Home, being very well ſatisfied with the Kindneſs he hath received; and Letters being come away Poſt for *Dunkirk* upon the News of the Army's Proceedings, and before our laſt Letter came from thence; yet he was not arrived at *Dunkirk* two Days ſince. I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

Since the writing of this, I have receiv'd both your's of the 28th and 31ſt of the laſt Month: But that with the Precedents is not yet come; nor have I time by this Conveyance, to reply to all the Particulars in your's; but I am amazed, that you had not then all thoſe Letters from me, which had layn ſo long in *Ireland* for a Wind; and I wonder

wonder the more at it; becauſe I have received a Letter from Sir *Abraham Shipman*, ſince his Arrival, who had, I think, two Letters for you; and the reſt were ſent by a Gentlewoman, who went in his Company, Mrs. *Roſs*, directed to Mr. *Cooper*; ſo that Sir *Abraham* will be very well able to retrieve them: And in thoſe, I am ſure, I have ſatisfied many of the Particulars in your's, eſpecially thoſe concerning the Church. I think my laſt to you was under the ſame Cover, which will put this into your Hand. I will not fail to morrow to write to the King, all that you wiſh concerning Sir *Thomas Middleton*, of whom I know his Majeſty will have a ſingular Eſteem; and for my part, I think him fitteſt to have the entire Command of thoſe Parts, and to chuſe ſuch Officers under him, as he would judge moſt proper for the Buſineſs; and I wiſh with all my Heart, the Lieutenant General of the ſame Name were with him, who tho' a *Scotchman*, is no more a Presbyterian than you and I; and is indeed a Man of great Honour and Honeſty, and in very little Favour with his Countrymen. If you can get the Money of Mr. *Grigſon*, or any other Money, you may very ſafely pay the Aſſignation

tion to *Grig* out of it; and then I pray deliver thirty Pound to Mr. *Rumbald*, to be given to Major *Wood*, whom we ſhall ſend over from hence within a few Days. I can aſſure you, that the King hath ſo juſt a Senſe of the inevitable Conſequences of the Univerſities being well or ill provided for in Point of Government, that when the Time comes, he will manifeſt his great Care in that Particular, eſpecially concerning *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*; which if I had not looked upon, rather as the Government of a College, and ſo forgotten it as a Deanery; I could have told you, the King hath deſigned it to a Perſon [q], who your ſick [r] Friend will tell you, is every Way equal to it. And I do aſſure you, that the King is not more fixt in any Principle, than in the Belief, that the Church can never be reſtored and repaired by any Expedient, but the Learning, Virtue, and Reputation of the Churchmen: And he will be ſo careful in making that Proviſion, that I have heard him often ſay, that he would abhor that Churchman, who would give the leaſt Sum of Money

[q] Dr. *Morley* inſtall'd *Feb.* 27, 1660. See N°. xxviii.
[r] See above, *p.* 404.

for

for the greateſt Preferment, and turn away that Servant, who would endeavour to get Money that Way: And I think him as unlike to ſwerve from that Reſolution, as ever Prince was. God ſend our good ſick [f]Friend perfect Health, and preſerve it to my Lord of *Ely*, that he may live to help in the Repairing of the Ruins, that are made: I have not Time to add more.

Receiv'd *Nov.* 20.

N°. XVI.

Bruſſels Nov. 28, 1659.

SIR,

I Have by this laſt Poſt your's of the 11th two Days ſince, and Yeſterday thoſe of the 13th and 14th of *September*, and the third of this Month together, by the long Way; ſo that I think now our Accounts are even, and that all mine to you, and your's to me are ſafely delivered. I ſhall not (indeed I cannot, in point of Time) reply to all thoſe Particulars in your ſeveral good Diſpatches;

[f] See above, *p.* 404.

but

but ſhall only mention what is applicable to preſent Uſe: But I give you very hearty Thanks for the whole Information and Inſtruction, of which I ſhall always make the moſt Advantage I can for the Publick. I can ſay no more with Reference to the Church, but that if there be nothing hinders it but the Winter, it will be quickly over, whilſt Preparations are making; and yet God knows, it will be almoſt a Miracle, if the Winter doth not take away half the Biſhops that are left alive; and I muſt ſtill lament, that ſome Way is not found, that the Biſhop of *Ely* may be at Liberty; which would carry on this Work more, than any Expedient I can think of. Concerning any Aſſurance we have, of any Conſent from the Perſons named, to undergo the Charge deſign'd to them, I can give you no Satisfaction; not knowing, that any one of them hath been communicated with to that Purpoſe: And I have always been of the Opinion, that the Method you ſay was obſerved by Biſhop *Andrews*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, is the right; and if I could help it, if the King were at *Whitehall* to morrow, he ſhould never preſer any Man in the Church, who ſought it: And I think I have Reaſon

to

to believe, the King is of that Mind. The Care that was taken in the Nomination of thoſe, who were ſent to you, was that fit Men might be appointed; nothing being ſo evident, as the Concluſion you alledge, that nothing but the great Merit of Churchmen can buoy up the Church; yet upon all the Particulars it was thought, that they were Men like to ſubmit to the King's Determination. And it was always concluded, that ſome Means would be found there, to perſuade them to do their Duties; and ſome Inſinuation, that Dr. *Laney* [t] would be very unwilling to ſubmit to it, was the Cauſe, that he was left out; as the Conſideration of Age and Diſability to travel, was the Cauſe, that Dr. *Sanderſon* [u] was not na-

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[t] Moſt probably Dr. *Benjamin Laney* Maſter of *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*, Prebendary of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the Firſt; who for his eminent Loyalty and great Sufferings in the Time of the Rebellion, was upon the Reſtoration firſt made Dean of *Rocheſter*, *July* 24, 1660; then Biſhop of *Peterborough*, *December* 2[d] the ſame Year, with Liberty to hold his Maſterſhip in *Commendam*. Thence tranſlated to *Lincoln March* 1, 1662, and thence to *Ely May* 24, 1667, and died at the end of 1674. Of whom ſee a farther Account, *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *p.* 828. and Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 153.

[u] No doubt he means the great Caſuiſt Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, whoſe Life you have prefixt to his Sermons publiſhed by Biſhop *Walton*. See alſo *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 113, &c.

med: And we were then informed, that Dr. *Manſel*[x] was in very good Health, and that he lived ſtill in *Oxford*. If it be otherwiſe, and that his Age and Infirmities make him unfit, he muſt be diſpenſed with: Secretary *Nicholas* and I conſulted together of his [y] Brother; and he was, and is confident, that he will depart from the Reſolution, which his Fortune and his Inclination might tempt him to, and wholly reſign himſelf to the King's Pleaſure; and therefore, if you pleaſe, let Dr. *Henchman* [z] acquaint him with it, and know his Mind. As ſoon as the King returns (which will now be, I am confident, within leſs than twenty Days) you ſhall receive the Liſt in Cypher, under his Majeſty's own Hand, which was delivered by himſelf to Mr. *Alleſtrey*: But methinks, if ſome of them ſhould refuſe, or all of them, to come together, courſe might be taken, to conſecrate as many as are ready: But of all this Judgment muſt be made upon the Place. I am ſorry my Lord of *Ely* will not com-

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[x] See N°. xii. *p.* 438.

[y] Dr. *Matthew Nicholas*, afterwards Dean of St. *Paul's*. See above, Note [r] *p.* 305.

[z] See above, *p.* 342.

mend

mend any particular Perſon; but it is abſolutely neceſſary, that by Communication with him, and the other of your Friends, you return hither a Liſt of ſuch worthy Men, as are fit for thoſe Charges, and not like to decline them; and of the Number the King may chuſe as he pleaſes. There is indeed too much Reaſon to doubt, that if the Crown were reſtored to morrow, the Church would not be in many Years repaired; yet I hope it would not be in ſo miſerable a Condition, as you ſuppoſe; and that the publick and general Piety of the Nation will contribute to the Repairing of thoſe Defacings and Ruins, which the generalMadneſs and Impiety hath diſhonoured the Nation with. And truly I am of Opinion, that the Church will be either totally ruined (towards which there is too great a Conſpiracy between Perſons, who agree in nothing elſe) or elſe, that it will be reſtor'd to a great Luſtre. For all Diſcourſes of the Treaty at the Iſle of *Wight* trouble me little; though it comes mentioned ſometimes to us by thoſe, who pretend no Diſaffection to the Church; and who pretend all ſhall be repaired again afterwards. But as I am confident, the King

will never endure it: ſo if he ſhould conſent to it, it can never be reduc'd into Practice, or a Peace be eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom by it. I look every Day to receive the King's Letter for the *Northamptonſhire*[a] Gentlemen, which I will diſpatch to you as ſoon as it comes. I have in ſome of my late Letters deſir'd you to accept of that Compoſition with Mr. *Grigſon*, which is very well made; and that out of it you give poor *Greg* the Sum I formerly menti-on'd to you: And I beſeech you, take it as a general Rule once for all, that whatever you ſhall find neceſſary to disburſe for the King's Service, for the Relief of any honeſt Man, who hath merited from him, and is in great and unſupportable Want; his Majeſty will very willingly allow it, and thank you for the ſeaſonable Charity: And if it be now in your Power, I wiſh you would ſupply Sir *Theophilus Gilby* (who is a very honeſt Man, and to whom Mr. *Thorneton* can tranſmit the Favour) with twenty or thirty Pounds. And it is heartily wiſhed, that out of ſuch Moneys, as are collected

[a] Sir *Henry Yelverton*. See above, *p.* 209, 212.

for

for charitable Uſes, Care might be taken of ſuch Perſons, who are in Miſery in Priſons, for no other Crime than their Loyalty; and amongſt ſuch, I hear Sir *Gervais Lucas* is in *Newgate* in great Extremity, who hath ſerv'd the King very honeſtly. He is a very melancholy Man, and very uneaſy to himſelf; and therefore I wiſh, if you knew any body that is acquainted with him, that he ſhould be a little refreſhed, and comforted with Converſation; and that he ſhould know, the King is not without a Senſe of his Condition. I ſhall let his Majeſty know to morrow, of the hundred Pounds you have tranſmitted to Sir *Thomas Bond*. I cannot but be very glad, that your [b] Friend is one of thoſe, who is ſent up from *Monk* to treat; becauſe you will be able to make ſuch Impreſſions in him, as may both diſpoſe him, and enable him to diſpoſe *Monk*; who if he be well inclin'd, may be ſure of Aſſiſtance, before he can be compelled to fight. And I cannot but hope, that ſome Account is given from him to the King himſelf; though you and I do not

[b] Colonel *Clobery*.

know of it. I will be ſure to write to morrow for thoſe Letters to your two [c] Friends; and I believe I ſhall know the next Week the very Day when the King will be here: And I may tell you, his Majeſty is very much deceiv'd himſelf, if both Crowns are not fully reſolved to aſſiſt him. I ſhall not hereafter make uſe of the Conveyance by Sea; nor will expect any Thing by it, except ſuch Books, as may be worth the ſending, and are too big for the Poſt: I cannot tell you, I have no more to ſay; for I am confident I forget many Things; but I am ſure, by that Time this is done, it will be Time to make up my Packet. You will ſay all from me of Kindneſs and Reſpect to thoſe, with whom you converſe; and believe that I am very heartily, and will give you Cauſe to think, I am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

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[c] Colonel *Clobery*, and Mr. *Otway*. See *p.* 188, 228. and N°. xix.

N°. XVII.

Oct. 5, 1659. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

SINCE my laſt to you on this Day Sevennight, by the ſame Conveyance that will, I hope, bring this to your Hands, I am accountable to you for three of your's; that of the 7th and the 14th, which came to me together by the laſt *French* Poſt, and your other of the 18th of the laſt Month, which I receiv'd with Mr. *Rumbald*'s. To the firſt I need ſay little, but that you muſt impute it to the King's being in his Journey, that you do not receive the Letter for *Northamptonſhire*. He is by this Time at *Paris*; and there I am confident he will write it, and from thence ſend it to you or me. I am ſtill in hope (though only upon the Reaſon of it) that if *Monk* hath any Inclination to ſerve the King, he finds ſome Way to inform his Majeſty of it; and then he would in Time receive any Aſſiſtance or Countenance he can wiſh, even by the King's own Preſence, or his Brother's: And I am confident, he will receive all the Encouragement *France* can give him. I am

of the Opinion, his Majeſty will be here the next Week, or very ſoon after. I do not think any of our Friends will riſe, till they have ſome Countenance from one of the Parties; and I obſerve, by what you ſay, that *Monk* is much leſs Maſter, than I thought him to have been, of his own Army; yet he may quickly make himſelf ſtronger, if he take the right Way; whereas, methinks, otherwiſe he ſtands in a very fair Way ſpeedily to be broken; and his own Army will give him up. I confeſs I do not like the preſent Poſture he is in. And this Agreement, how extravagant a one ſoever it be, will have for ſome Time the Reputation of a Settlement; till ſome new Breach appears, which ſhould be haſtened all that is poſſible. I know not what to propoſe; and I perceive very well, that you are very vigilant to do all that can be done: And you are a better Judge of that, than I can be, at this Diſtance. How comes it to paſs, that *Tinmouth* was not poſſeſſed by *Monk*, if Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* had the Command of it, who, I ſuppoſe, is with *Monk*? However, I am ſure, he cannot be compelled to fight, if he hath no Mind to it; and may break *Lambert*'s Army, if it ſhall preſs him.

him. You ſay nothing to me of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, where he is, and what he intends. Here was a Gentleman the laſt Week, Colonel *Whitley*, who importuned me ſo much, and undertook to know, that it would not be unacceptable to Sir *Thomas*, that I writ half a dozen Lines of Kindneſs only to him, which he deſerves abundantly from us all. I pray inform me, whether *Cheſter* be diſmantled, according to the Order of the Parliament, and what is become of Colonel *Venables*. I hear the *Lancaſhire* Gentlemen are as full of Spirit as ever, and promiſe great Things. Do not Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major *Saloway* act with the Committee of Safety as much as any? Which I ask, becauſe I have ſeen a Letter, as if they had taken ſome Offence, and refus'd to bear a part in the Government, and that *Fleetwood* is neither ſatisfied with *Monk*, nor *Lambert*. I hope we ſhall ſhortly ſee more clearly through all. I have not Time at preſent to add more, but that I am very heartily, *Sir*,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Dec.* 19. Hyde.

No. XVIII.

Bruſſels, Dec. 26, 1659.

SIR,

YOur's of the 2d came to my Hands by this laſt Poſt, which it ſhould have done by the Poſt before; but that is none of your Fault. If mine have found the right Way to you, you have had (ſince that of the 28th of the laſt Month, which you acknowledge) another of the 5th of this Month; ſince which Time, finding the Obſtruction in our Communication, I have only writ to Mr. *Wright*, without troubling you. I ſhall not at preſent enlarge upon the Buſineſs of the Church more, than that I am perſuaded, that his Majeſty will not be forward to diſpoſe of thoſe Livings with Cures; having not yet, I think, made promiſe to any one in *England*. I pray, let honeſt Mr. *Thorneton* know, that I write to him this Day by the ſame Conveyance, by which I received his laſt; which, I believe, will come to his Hands within few Days after this. Since I writ thus far, the King is arrived with us, to our great Joy. You will

not

not believe, that I have yet had Time enough with him, to ſpeak about thoſe Acquittances, of which you ſhall receive ſome Account by the next: And this very Minute Mr. *Alleſtrey* is come to us, and hath given me your's of the 5th, which I have not yet Time to decypher; but I am confident, we ſhall within a Day or two diſpatch ſome body towards you, by whom you ſhall not fail of an Account of all that is neceſſary from,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Jan.* 2.

Hyde.

N°. XIX.

To Mr. (*afterwards Sir*) John Otway.

Bruſſels, Jan. 8, 1660.

THE Perſon [e] through whoſe Hands this comes to you, hath enough informed me of your great Affection and Zeal to

[e] Mr. *Barwick*, who having acquainted the King of Mr. *Otway's*

to my Service, and of the Pains[e] you have taken to advance it, of which you may be confident I have the Senſe I ought to have.

I have writ to your[f] Friend, which you will deliver to him, and uſe your Intereſt in him, that he may take my Buſineſs to Heart, and perſue it with his utmoſt Induſtry and Dexterity. I hope the Iſſue will be good for us all; and you will find, that I can never forget your Part, and that I ſhall always be

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

Otway's Readineſs to ſerve his Majeſty in the Matter propos'd to him (*p.* 188. where in the Margin read *Append.* N°. XIX.) when it was Time for him to enter upon that Service, his Majeſty writes the two Letters here mentioned, which the Chancellor ſends to Mr. *Barwick*, (*p.* 228.) where by the Date of the Chancellor's Letter, but four Days later than this of the King's, this plainly appears to be one of the King's Letters there mention'd, where *p.* 229. lin. 6. read *Append.* N. XX.

[e] On the backſide of the Copy which was given me of this Letter, and ſeems to have been taken many Years ſince, among other Minutes relating to this Gentleman's great Services, it is obſerved, that he made it his Buſineſs ſeven Years together to bring over his two Brothers-in-Law to the King's Intereſt; and that the whole Deſign of *Monk*'s Army coming againſt *Lambert*, and *Redman*'s joining *Monk* with the *Iriſh* Brigade then lying in *Yorkſhire*, was laid and contrived at his Chambers in *Grey*'s-*Inn*, between him and his two Brothers-in-Law, without the Privity of any one but Mr. *Barwick*.

[f] Colonel *Clobery*, to whom Mr. *Otway* was then going into *Scotland*.

N°.

N°. XX.

Jan. 12, 1660, *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

MY laſt to you was of the 26th of the laſt Month under Mr. *Wright*'s Cover, ſince which Time I have received your's of the 5th of the laſt Month to me, and another of the ſame Date to the King, another of the 9th, and another of the 16th; and yet I do conclude there is another upon the Way, to which the laſt refers. I ſhall ſpeak to all the Particulars in Order, and enlarge upon them by Diſcourſe with Mr. *Alleſtrey*, where it is neceſſary: Becauſe in that of the 5th to me you mention Sir *Thomas Middleton*; I will in this Place ſay all that occurs with Reference to him; and tell you, that about a Month ſince Colonel *Whitley* was here: having been with Sir *Thomas* in the Buſineſs of *Cheſter*, he made very ample Relations of the Actions of Sir *Thomas*, and preſſed me very earneſtly to write to him, as a Thing that would not be unacceptable to him; and I was eaſily perſuaded to it; having in truth an extraordinary Eſteem for Sir *Thomas*, upon what he hath lately done, and what you have ſaid of him. Since Colonel *Whitley*'s Departure, Colonel *Worden*

is

is arrived here, who makes ſome Relations, which I do not underſtand; as if Colonel *Whitley* had in the late Action pretended to be ſent, with a Commiſſion from the King, to command Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s Horſe, as Major-General; which I never heard of before, and am ſure he had no ſuch Commiſſion from the King. On the other Hand, we have many Intimations from Friends in *London*, as if Colonel *Worden* were thought not to have done his Duty. They both ſpeak very worthily of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and pretend great Truſt from him; and the latter hath a very large Teſtimonial, ſigned by many Perſons of Honour and Reputation, and amongſt thoſe by Sir *Thomas Middleton* himſelf or his Son, as if they deſired to have none elſe employed to them. Indeed the Teſtimonial is ſo large, as if it were provided to anſwer Objections, and to redeem an injured Reputation. The other Colonel is, I doubt not, a Man of very entire Affections to the King's Service; yet poſſibly may be infected with the Diſeaſe of the Time, to believe, that he knows beſt the Ways to advance it; and thereupon may aſſume Truſts, which he hath not. Therefore I pray, ſpeak freely with Sir *Thomas*

Middleton, and know his Opinion of both theſe Gentlemen, that we may know the better, and anſwer this Matter particularly. It will not be an eaſy Matter to ſend over any Men to North *Wales* from theſe Parts; and I hope, when the Buſineſs is on Foot in other Places, North *Wales* will be able to declare upon its own Strength: And if Sir *Thomas Middleton* can make himſelf Maſter of *Shrewsbury*, having ſo good a back, it would be an excellent Poſt.

I ſend you herewith two Letters, *&c. to purſue it effectually, as printed above, p.* 228, 229.

The King is glad *Redman* is gone for *Ireland*; where ſomewhat will be done, when the Work is begun in *England*; otherwiſe I do not ſuppoſe, that much can be done there to any Purpoſe. I do not underſtand [g] *Ludlow*'s Part in this Buſineſs, nor to which Party he is inclined.

I cannot fully enough reply to your's of the 16th; becauſe, as you obſerve your ſelf, I cannot enough underſtand it, without ſeeing the other Letter, to which you ſay it is a Poſtſcript; and that is not yet come to

[g] See above, *p.* 377, *&c.*

my

my Hands; but I did in mine of *Friday*, to Mr. *Rumbald*, ſay all that occurs to us here, upon Conſideration of this enſuing Parliament; which I need not repeat; becauſe I know he will communicate it to you. I hope it will never be ſuffered to meet; ſince it appears abſolutely deſtructive to ſome Intereſts, and to provide for the Security of none; and if it be convened upon the Fundamentals mentioned in the Print, I do not ſee, how any body, who wiſheth well to the King, can give the leaſt Countenance to it, let the Hope of future Diſtractions from it be what it will. You may be confident, that the Moment of the Court of Wards to all Purpoſes, is ſo well underſtood, that all Care ſhall be taken, which the Temper of the Time will bear; and that Temper may appear in a ſhort Time to be different from what it is at preſent. I cannot enough wonder, that many of our Friends, who heretofore might reaſonably believe, that it was very neceſſary for them to be in as much Retreat as it was poſſible, and to keep themſelves from the leaſt Suſpicion of Activity againſt a Power, which was unqueſtionably able to ſacrifice them to its Jealouſy or Diſpleaſure:

I ſay, I wonder, that thoſe very Men, who I preſume are ſtill entire in their Principles, ſhould not now think it ſeaſonable to conſult together, how to make the right Uſe of theſe Diviſions and Diſtractions, and by conferring with other Perſons of Honour and Quality (who have been of other Parties, and are ſufficiently puniſhed for having been ſo) find a Way, how to provide for their own, and their Country's Security and Happineſs; and to prevent that ſharp Remedy, which in curing the Diſeaſe, may kill the Patient. I do heartily wiſh, that our ſick [h] Friend (who I hope hath by this Time recovered a good Degree of Strength) were now in *London*, as well for Temporal as Spiritual Conſiderations; and I believe, he would find Opportunity to do good with ſome Perſons, who are never to be approached but by Men, if not of their own chuſing, yet of thoſe, in whom they have entire Confidence.

Since I writ this, I have received your's of the 16th, which ſhould have come to me the laſt Week; and by Letters of a later

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[h] See above, p. 404.

Date,

Date, I ſee ſo great a Change in all your Affairs, that I know not what to ſay. But if the *Rump* be re-eſtabliſhed, and with that Reputation and Triumph, it ſeems to carry with it; we have miſtaken our Meaſures, and are for the preſent caſt farther back, than we had Reaſon to fear, and muſt look about us, till we can ſee more Light; but I have yet ſome Hope from the Temper of the City, which ſee their Slavery again at their Door, and from the Deſpair of *Lambert*, and thoſe who have adhered to him; of all which we ſhall ſee the Effects very quickly; as I believe you do at this Time ſee the utmoſt, that can be expected from either.

Give me leave in a Word, before I conclude, to ask you a Queſtion concerning a young Gentleman, the Son of a good Father Mr. *Wickham*[1], a Fellow of *King's* College in *Cambridge*. I have ſeen him, and then he

[1] *Henry Wickham*, D. D. 1628 (Son of Dr. *William Wickham*, ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*) was Scholar of *King's* College in *Cambridge*, *Anno* 1608, and accordingly Fellow, as his Father had been, and lived there for ſome Time Fellow Commoner, after he had left his Fellowſhip, by Reaſon of his Preferments: He was Rector of *Bedall* and *Bolton-Perry* in *Yorkſhire*, Prebendary of *Southwell*, Reſidentiary and Archdeacon

he accidentally mentioned you, as a Perſon to whom he was well known; and ſeemed to know, that you hold Correſpondence with me. I have never ſince heard from him, or of him; therefore, I pray, let me know what your Opinion is of him, and where he is. Since this was writ, which I intended Mr. *Alleſtrey* ſhould have brought to you, the King hath received your's of the 19th of *December*; to which there is no Occaſion to reply; ſince my Lord *Mordaunt* [k], who takes the Charge of this, can enlarge upon all Particulars. Mr. *Alleſtrey* ſtays to be ſent upon

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deacon of *York*, and Chaplain to King *Charles* the Firſt. This Account I have of him from Mr. *Hatcher*'s Catalogue of the Scholars, *&c.* of *King*'s College in *Cambridge*, and a Continuation of it by other Hands. But it is ſome Abatement of his Character here, that I do not find him in any of his Preferments among Dr. *Walker*'s *Suffering Clergy*. His Son (enquired of here, and mentioned again N°. XXVI.) was afterwards Dr. *Tobias Wickham*, inſtall'd Dean of *York*, *March* 31, 1677. He could not be very young when this Letter was written, having been one of the Proctors of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in the Year 1649, then, it ſeems, Fellow of *Trinity* Hall there. (*Le Neve*'s *Faſti Eccl. Anglic. p.* 404.) He died *Anno* 1697. (*ibid. p.* 316.) I ſuppoſe at *York*, and was interr'd in that Cathedral.

[k] *John* (ſecond Son to *John* firſt Earl of *Peterborough*) who in 1648 raiſing Forces under the Earl of *Holland* for reſcuing King *Charles* the Firſt out of the Hands of the Rebels, and hazarding himſelf again in 1658 for the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, in Reward of his Loyalty, was by Letters Patents, bearing Date *July* 10th (11. *Car.* 2.) advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Mor-*

upon the next Occaſion. The King's Letter with A upon it[1]: the other for his Friend Colonel *Clobery*: you will diſpoſe of them accordingly. I am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Jan.* 12. Hyde.

N°. XXI.

Bruſſels Jan. 14, 1660.

SIR,

IF my Lord *Mordaunt* be arrived (as I hope he is) you have received an Anſwer to all I had upon my Hand from you; and ſince his Departure, I have not heard

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daunt of *Rygate* in the County of *Surrey*, and of Viſcount *Avalon* in *Somerſetſhire* (*Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 312.) On the Death of his elder Brother, *Henry* Earl of *Peterborough*, without Iſſue Male; he ſucceeded alſo to that Honour, and was Father to *Charles* the preſent Earl, by *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Thomas Cary*, ſecond Son to *Robert* Earl of *Monmouth*; on which Account, upon the Failure of that Title, he was created alſo Earl of *Monmouth*, *Anno* 1689. *Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 1. *p.* 102, 103.

[1] What is here wanting, I take to be the Words following [*is for Mr.* Otway.]

from

from you: This is only to ſend (which was not ready when he departed) the Commiſſion [m] for Sir *Thomas Middleton* to be Commander in Chief of the Counties of *North Wales*. What is to be done with Reference to the Propoſition concerning *Shrewsbury*, muſt be left to my Lord *Mordaunt*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, to adjuſt: If it were included in his Commiſſion, it muſt draw that whole County likewiſe under his Power and Command; and how that will ſuit with the good Acceptance of my Lord *Newport* [n], and the reſt of the Commiſſioners of that Country, is not hard to gueſs; and yet no doubt, they will be glad of any ſure Way to take *Shrewsbury*, and

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[m] See a Copy of it, N°. XXII.

[n] *Francis*, eldeſt Son of Sir *Richard Newport* of *High Ercall* in *Shropſhire*, who for his great Services to King *Charles* the Firſt, had by Letters Patents bearing Date at *Bridgenorth*, *October* 14, 1642, been advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Newport* of *High Ercall*, and dying *February* 8, 1650 at *Moulins* in *France*, whither he had retired from the Violence of the Uſurpation, was ſucceeded in that Honour by this Lord *Francis*, who had been alſo in Arms for the King, till taken Priſoner *Anno* 1644, for which Services, after the Reſtoration he was made Comptroller, and then Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and afterwards Viſcount *Newport* of *Bradford* in *Shropſhire*, by Letters Patents bearing Date (11 *March* 27. *Car.* 2.) and after the Revolution Earl of *Bradford*, *Anno* 1694, and was Father to *Richard* the preſent Earl. *Dugd. Bar. Vol.* 2. *p.* 467. *Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 1. *p.* 153.

to have ſo good a Neighbour in *North Wales*, as Sir *Thomas Middleton*: Therefore there is no Way to prevent all Jealouſies and Miſtakes, but by bringing my Lord *Newport*, or *Andrew Newport* °, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* together; who will eaſily agree and proſecute any noble Deſign, and ſecure one another; and this Mr. *Rumbald* and you will eaſily bring to paſs. We keep Mr. *Alleſtrey* for a few Days, for the next Diſpatch after the next Letters.

God keep you, and,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd 26. Hyde.

N°. XXII.

(L. S.) *Charles* R.

CHarles, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our truſty

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° *Francis* Lord *Newport*'s younger Brother.

and

and well beloved
We do by theſe Preſents appoint and conſtitute you to be Commander in Chief of all Forces, which are or ſhall be raiſed for our Service, within our Counties of

giving you full Power and Authority to order, conduct, and command the ſame, in all Things according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of War; and therewith to fight, kill, and deſtroy all, who are, or ſhall be in Arms againſt us; and to ſeize on any Forts or Places in Rebellion againſt us within our ſaid Counties, and to keep and defend the ſame for us, and in our Name; and to do and execute all Acts and Powers belonging to the Duty and Office of a Commander in Chief, appointed to command the Forces of thoſe our ſaid Counties: And We hereby require all Majors Generals, Colonels, and other inferior Officers and Soldiers under you, to obey you as Commander in Chief of the Forces of the ſaid Counties; and you are to be obedient to all ſuch Orders, as you ſhall receive from us: For all which this our Commiſſion ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant, to continue in Force, till we ſhall ſignify our Pleaſure to the contrary.

trary. Given at our Court at *Bruxelles* this 14th Day of *January* 1660, in the eleventh Year of our Reign.

No. XXIII.

Jan. 16, 1660. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

THis is the third Letter I have written to you within three Days; and probably they may come all to your Hand together. Since mine of yeſterday, I have received your's of the 23d of *December*, under Mr. *Rumbald*'s Cover; and by what Conveyance I know not, being now diſappointed of that which ſerved us ſo long. I ſhall not ſay any Thing more concerning Sir *Thomas Middleton*, but to tell you, that ſince mine of [p] yeſterday, in which I ſent you his Commiſſion, I have received a very civil Letter from him, in anſwer to mine. I need not deſire you to confirm his Son in thoſe worthy Principles, with which he is poſſeſſed; and to aſſure him of the King's Kindneſs, which he may be very confident

[p] The Day, I ſuppoſe, before Yeſterday, *viz. Jan.* 14. No. XXII.

of.

of. I do not conceive it probable, as I have told you in former Letters, that the Buſineſs of *North Wales* will ever be begun, by ſending Force from Abroad thither; being at a great Diſtance from any Place we can hope to tranſport: But if there be a want of Arms there, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* can appoint any Place, where they may be with Security delivered and received; all ſhall be done from hence, that is poſſible. When I mentioned Lieutenant General *Middleton*[q] to you, I did it only, as a Wiſh of my own; knowing him to be a Perſon of very great Honour, and very entire Principles; not with the leaſt thought of recommending any Man, but thoſe whom Sir *Thomas Middleton* himſelf ſhall deſire or chuſe; and if he ſhall deſire, that the King will ſend him, or any other, I preſume his Majeſty will do it. I am heartily ſorry, the good old Man feels the Infirmities of Age; yet I hope he will live to ſee the King at *Whitehall*. I am very heartily, *Sir*,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd 26. Hyde

[q] See above, *p.* 459.

N°. XXIV.

Jan. 22, 1660. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

I Have two Days ſince received your's of the 2d of this Month, by the Way of *France*; and ſince that, your other to the King, and to my ſelf, by the uſual Conveyance, which will, I am told, be hereafter as ſecure again, as it was heretofore; and therefore I ſhall uſe it to morrow, to Mr. *Rumbald.* I will not inlarge upon the Death of the Biſhop of *Exeter*; becauſe I will charge Mr. *Alleſtrey* with that Diſcourſe, in which I can uſe no Patience. If that Biſhop were long ſick, I would be glad to hear, how he expreſſed himſelf to thoſe Friends who were about him, in thoſe Particulars, in which he ſuffered in his Reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church. Mr. *Alleſtrey* is commanded by the King, to go in his Name to any of the Biſhops, upon ſuch Errands, as my Lord of *Ely*, and my Lord of *Salisbury* ſhall judge fit. If his Majeſty doth not write by this Opportunity

Opportunity to the Earl of *Derby* [r], it is for want of Time; for his Majeſty received his Letter but this Morning, and I am ſure will write to him by the next. I wiſh he may keep his Liberty, and fall no more into thoſe Men's Hands. If there be any Thing to be done ſuddenly in that County, Mr. *Rumbald* can furniſh you with Commiſſions of all Kinds that ſhall be neceſſary: And I am of Opinion, it were well thoſe Commiſſions were put into the proper Hands in the Counties, as ſoon as may be; which would enable them the better to model and direct their Deſigns, againſt a fit Conjuncture; and in the mean Time, there need not be above two or three in a County conſulted with. If my Lord *Mordaunt* be with you, you have received the King's two Letters for your two [s] Friends; and I long very much to hear, what they both think of *Monk*; who, I hope, hath not with that Formality diſclaimed the King in the Head of every Regiment, as, I hear Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* reports.

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[r] See above, *p.* 207.

[s] Colonel *Clobery* and Mr. *Otway*. See above, *p.* 188, 228, and N°. XIX. [t] See above, *p.* 455.

I ſhould

I ſhould be glad to find, that our Friends in *Northamptonſhire* have done themſelves no Harm by their late Motions; and that as many honeſt Men get into the Houſe upon the new Elections, as is poſſible. Theſe quick Revolutions, without a broken Head, do ſo aſtoniſh all People Abroad, that if the *Rump* ſit any Time without new Confuſion, it will get Reputation abroad, and be acknowledged by their Neighbours, as a ſettled Republick. The King left an Acquittance with Sir *Thomas Bond* for the two hundred Pounds; but ſince you deſire a diſtinct Acquittance for each Sum, I ſend them here to you; and you may make uſe of the other, upon another Occaſion. I pray remember me very kindly to Mr. *Cholmeley* as my good Friend, of whom I have a great Eſteem. *Grig. Palden* laments his Condition to me, which I know not how otherwiſe to remedy, than by recommending him to you, as I have formerly done; preſuming that when you have Money, you will aſſiſt him. I would fain hear, that our ſick[t] Friend

[t] See above, *p.* 404.

is

is perfectly recovered. God ſend us once well to meet. I am ever,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

N°. XXV.

Feb. 20, 1660. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

YOur's of the 27th came to me ſo late the laſt Week, that I was compelled to make my Excuſe to you by Mr. *Rumbald*, for not anſwering it then; and the ſame Day I received your other of the 20th; and ſince that another of the 30th by the Way of *Paris*; and by this laſt Poſt I have your's of the 3d of this Month; but that of the 13th of *January* is not come to my Hands; and if it were ſent to *Calais*, to be from thence conveyed hither, it is very probable, it was amongſt thoſe many Letters, which were ſent by one Mr. *Leonard*, taken, and carried into [u] *Dunkirk*, and from thence ſent, with the poor Gentleman, to the

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[u] See above, *p.* 250.

Council.

Council. I ſhall anſwer all your Letters in order, as they were writ; except, upon the Occaſion of the Subject, I ſpeak at once to any Particular, that may run through all your Letters. I am glad Sir *Thomas Middleton* hath ſo good an Opinion of Colonel *Whitley*, who truly, I believe, is an honeſt Man; the Danger only is of over Activity, and preſuming to be employed, when he is not: Nor do you anſwer me, whether he did pretend to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to be ſent by the King to him, to command the Horſe as Major-General; which Colonel *Worden* affirms. I have not heard of any Teſtimonial he hath procured; which indeed is no Way to vindicate a Man's Reputation; ſince few Men will refuſe to ſign a Paper, that is brought to them: And Colonel *Worden* profeſſes, that he received his Teſtimonial very unwillingly; which he was forced to take by the frank Importunity of his Friends, who were offended at ſuch Reproaches, as they found raiſed againſt him. The King is very glad, that you have received Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Commiſſion, and that he is ready to accept the Truſt, when the Seaſon ſhall be ripe.

What

What I ſaid concerning *Shrewsbury* was not, that I thought it unfit to be in Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s Hands: I know very well, how it lies to *North Wales*, and the great Advantage they may receive from each other; and no Man is ſo fit to be Governor of it, as Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who offers to contribute ſo much to the poſſeſſing of it: But what I ſaid upon that Occaſion, concerning my Lord *Newport*, was, that it would be fitter to be tranſacted and conſented to by an Aſſociation with *Shropſhire*, than by an abſolute Diſpoſition of the King's. And I named my Lord *Newport* only, as a principal Perſon of that County, and one very much affected to the King's Service, not as Commander in Chief; which I do not believe he will ever affect to be. He is too wiſe a Man, to keep any Thing in his Mind of former Paſſages, that may breed a Diſturbance in the preſent Service: And no body can be ſo fit to negotiate ſuch an Aſſociation, as *Andrew Newport*; and therefore I pray, let my Lord *Mordaunt* and Mr. *Rumbald* diſpoſe *Andrew Newport* in ſuch a manner, as you will do Sir *Thomas Middleton*, that they may meet together, and ſettle the Aſſociation; and I

ſhall then wonder, if the *Shropſhire* Gentlemen ſhall not be very willing, that Sir *Thomas* ſhall be Governor of *Shrewsbury*, when he hath been the principal Means to take it; and that is all I ſhall ſay of that Matter, more than my very hearty Service to Sir *Thomas*, and his Son, of whom his Majeſty hath all the Confidence imaginable.

Concerning the Buſineſs of the Church, *&c. to* [facilitating the reſt] *as above*, p. 247, 248.

I have heard much good of Mr. *Cholmeley*, and know well, that he is well known to the King and my Lord of *Ormond*; and I ſhall be very glad upon any Occaſion to ſerve him, and to be acquainted with him; as I was very well with his Father, and his Uncle *Harry*, who, I hope, will yet prove right. The Addreſſes from *Northamptonſhire* and the other Counties are very good, notwithſtanding all Clauſes, which will do Good in the Way, and no Hurt in the End.

Sir *Theo. Gilby* is a very honeſt, and a modeſt Man, and a good Officer; but I am ſorry he calls ſo ſoon upon you again, as if he were to be a ſtanding and a conſtant Charge. I have writ to my Lord

Mordaunt to do ſomewhat for him, which I hope he will do; and if you pleaſe, let the whole twenty Pounds be given to *Grig*, who complains too of great Neceſſities; but they muſt not think, that they can be wholly ſupported from hence. I do thank you with all my Heart, for giving me an Opportunity to ſend my Service to *Clem. Spellman* [w], whom I know to be a very worthy Perſon, and whoſe Affections the King is obliged to reward; which he reſolves to do. I pray remember my Service very kindly to him; and let him know, that I did receive the Books long ſince, with a very great Senſe of the Obligation; and did return my Acknowledgment by at leaſt three ſeveral Letters to Dr. *Ryves* [x]; which it ſeems he never received. I have had froward Fortune with Reference to *Clem. Spellman*, to whom I heard one Gentleman, without any Authority from me, did very impertinently

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[w] Son of the famous Antiquary Sir *Henry Spellman*, whoſe Book *De non temerandis Eccleſiis* he publiſhed with a large Preface. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 511.

[x] I ſuppoſe *Bruno Ryves*, D. D. Chaplain to King *Charles* the Firſt, the Author of *Mercurius Ruſticus*, for his Loyalty and Sufferings made Dean of *Windſor*, *Sept.* 3, 1660, where he died, *July* 13, 1677, of whom you have a farther Account. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 433, 434.

and

and abſurdly deliver a Compliment in my Name: And all thoſe Ways, by which I did in truth endeavour to let him know, how much I am his Servant, have been diſappointed. I pray know of him, whether his Father left no Advance in the *Gloſſary*. It would be very good News, if I could hear of my Lord of *Ely*'s being in full Liberty; to whom I pray preſent my humble Service. The Truth is, I have little Hope of the Buſineſs of the Church, but by his being at Liberty; and therefore I hope he will make no Scruple of accepting it, if it be offered, or if it can be reaſonably obtained.

I have received the Note from Sir *Th. Bond*, and will return you another, either now, or very ſpeedily. I conceive by your's of the 30th, that Mr. *Otway* is before this Time with you; and then you cannot be long kept in Suſpence, what *Monk* reſolves to do; and if *Clarges* hath the Courage to ſhew him the King's Letter, it muſt work upon him as much, as if it had been written to himſelf. I conceive the Letter you deſire from the King, is for Colonel *Redman* (though there be ſome Miſtake in your Cypher) and the King hath writ the incloſed accordingly. I do confeſs to you (though very

very many are of your Opinion, and would find out Expedients accordingly, I am not ſo much frighted with the Fear of thoſe Perſons; who by being poſſeſſed of the Church, Crown, and Delinquents Lands, will be thereby witheld from returning to their Duties, except they might be aſſured to retain the ſame. *Firſt*, I do not think the Number ſo very conſiderable of all thoſe, who are intangled in that Guilt, that their Intereſt can continue, or ſupport the War; when the Nation ſhall diſcern, that there is nothing elſe keeps off the Peace. *Secondly*, They who have the greateſt Share in thoſe Spoils, are Perſons otherwiſe ſo irreconcilable, either by their villanous Reſolutions, as Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and others, that no Overtures of that kind would work upon them, but would be turned into Reproach; and as the Number of thoſe is not great: ſo the Greatneſs of their Poſſeſſions makes them more Enemies than Friends, ſetting all other Guilt aſide. *Thirdly*, Tho' it be not in the King's Power to alienate either Crown, Church, or Delinquents Lands, and therefore his Offer (if he ſhould make it) would be valued accordingly; and it is hardly poſſible, that any Parliament

which owns the King, can be ſo conſtituted, as to ratify ſuch an Alienation: So no particular Man, who is poſſeſſed of ſuch Lands, and will really do ſignal Service for the King, can doubt but that it is in the King's Power, and muſt be in his Will, to make him ample Recompence for any Service he ſhall do him; and that he ſhall be a good Husband, as well as good Subject, by returning to his Duty, and ſerving the King effectually; and therefore you may eaſily undertake from the King, and in his Name, to Colonel *Redman*, that he ſhall not find his Fortune the worſe for ſerving the King; but that if he ſhall do it vigorouſly, he ſhall be ſure, either to have a good Title given him to the Lands in *Ireland*, of which he is poſſeſſed, or at leaſt to continue him in the Poſſeſſion of them, till he receives a valuable Recompence to his own Satisfaction: And if you can let us know, what Lands they are, of which he is poſſeſſed; I believe it will be in our Power to ſay more to him for his preſent Satisfaction. And what I ſay to you concerning *Redman*, you are to take as ſaid with Reference to any others, who are in the ſame Condition and Diſpoſition to ſerve the King; and you may cauſe them

them to be treated with in the ſame manner, and upon the ſame Aſſurance.

I am very much taken with Mr. *Steward*'s Caſe, and did hope, that our laſt Letters would have brought us ſome News of the City's Reſentment of it; but I believe, they will avoid all ſharp Expoſtulations, till they can make a clearer Judgment of *Monk*'s Reſolutions; of which, methinks, by your's of the 3d, you ſeem ſtill to retain ſome Hopes; and it is evident enough from his Carriage, that he is willing all Parties ſhould retain a fair Hope of him. There is no Doubt, it is in his Power (if he be once well reſolved) to make himſelf ſo ſtrong, by a Conjunction with honeſt and worthy Men, that he need fear no Oppoſition; but may bring all to paſs, that he can reaſonably deſire, or others deſire from him; and he takes very ill Meaſures of his own Intereſt, if he doth not believe, that it can be more advanced by his adhering to the King, and eminently promoting his Right, than by any other Courſe he can take; and in truth, that no other Advancement can be pleaſant or laſting to him. But if he ſhould prove ſo falſe and ſo fooliſh, as to give himſelf up to the Imagination of a Republick;

I hope the good Spirit, that already appears throughout the whole Kingdom, will be heightened with Indignation and Obſtinacy, to proteſt againſt a Submiſſion and Subjection to ſuch an extravagant and abſurd Government, as is now over them; and conſequently will refuſe all Payments of Taxes and Impoſitions, and fill *Weſtminſter-Hall* with Proceſs and Complaints to the Judges for the Oppreſſions they ſuffer againſt Law. So that they may not be only without hope of a ſolid Settlement; but may receive ſuch viſible Oppoſition, as may take away all their Reputation with their Neighbours, of their being like to ſettle: and then will be the Time for thoſe Presbyterian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any Principles of Allegiance, to diſcharge themſelves efficaciouſly.

The Expreſs you mention in your's of the 3d is not yet arrived; ſo that having anſwered every Particular in all your's, I might very well give you Eaſe from farther Trouble at preſent; but I am compelled to enlarge this very long Letter, by an unhappy Information, which Secretary *Nicholas* now gives me from Mr. *Baron*; who ſends to him, to deſire me to forbear writing any more in

Mr.

Mr. *Rumbald*'s Cypher; becauſe, he ſays, the Council of State hath gotten a Copy of it; which I cannot imagine; ſince, as I am ſure, it hath never been out of my own Hand; ſo that there can be no ſuch Thing from hence; and I cannot imagine, that he would be leſs careful there; and it is very natural for them to give out ſuch Brags, as they do, of their great [y] Skill in decyphering; for which no body needs to fear them, if they write carefully in good Cyphers. However as I ſhall be in great Pain, till I know the contrary, and eſpecially till I know that my Letters of the laſt *Friday*, under my Lady [z] Abbeſs's Cover, came ſafe to him (which I ſent upon an Invitation from thence, and an Aſſurance, that they ſhould be very ſafely delivered) ſo I will forbear writing to Mr. *Rumbald* himſelf, till I am better informed. Therefore together with this, I pray let him know, that I have received his of the 20th, and the King his other of the 30th; but that of the 13th is miſcarried, as your's of the ſame Date did.

You will receive a Note ſigned by the King; which, how obſcure ſoever, his Ma-

[y] See above, *p.* 251, 252.

[z] See above, *p.* 253.

jeſty hath done upon his Deſire, and upon his great Confidence in Mr. *Warwick*, to whom he will cauſe it to be delivered; and then give his Majeſty a fuller Account of the Contents and Effect of it; and of that Particular, which I mentioned in a former Letter to him, by the King's Command, concerning Mr. *Warwick*, and to which his Majeſty hath yet received no Anſwer. The King gives him many Thanks for the Information he ſent him concerning *Whiting*, who lives not in this Town, but at *Bruges*, where he is able to do more Miſchief by thoſe Offices, than if he were here. We heard before, that *Lockheart* had given Notice of Mr. *Alleſtrey*'s paſſing to *Dover*, before he could get thither; by which the Guard was ready to ſeize [a] him at his landing: and the ſame Office had been performed for Sir *John Stevens* and his Friend. We had no Suſpicion of this Fellow, whom we never ſaw; yet he hath been recommended as an honeſt Man, and worthy of the King's Protection, by ſome Men, who in truth are ſo, and, I am confident, thought this Fellow

[a] See above, *p.* 250.

honeſt.

honeſt. We will take the beſt Courſe we can concerning him; yet the King deſires Mr. *Rumbald* to inform himſelf the beſt he can of him, and to let his Majeſty know, who Mrs. *Leonard* is, to whoſe Affection he is ſo much beholden: and out of Tenderneſs to her and her Daughter, he will be more deſirous to prevent the abſolute Ruin of this Knave: And I pray let us receive an Anſwer to this Particular as ſoon as may be. And if the length of this Letter doth not tire you, you ſhall never have Cauſe to be abſolutely weary of,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Feb.* 19. Hyde.

N°. XXVI.

March 8, 1660. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

MY laſt to you was of the 20th of the laſt Month, not having dared ſince to venture any Letter by the Poſt, upon the Alarm I had of their having

gotten a Copy of my Cypher with Mr. *Rumbald.* I have ſince that Time received three from you, one of the 7th, another of the 9th, and another of the 13th; and the King had, to every one of thoſe, one to him of the ſame Date; and I ſee you are very apprehenſive of the ſame Miſchief by the decyphering our Letters, which you impute to Art; as you have great Reaſon to do, if your Letters and others have been decyphered, as well as Mr. *Rumbald*'s. I confeſs to you, as I am ſure no Copy could be gotten of any of my Cyphers from hence; ſo I did not think it probable, that they could be got on your ſide the Water. But I was as confident, till you tell me you believe it, that the Devil himſelf cannot decypher a Letter, that is well written, or find that 100 ſtands for Sir *H. Vane.* I have heard of many of the Pretenders to that Skill, and have ſpoken with ſome of them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks: Nor did I ever hear, that more of the King's Letters that were found at *Naſeby*, than thoſe which they found decyphered, or found the Cyphers in which they were writ, were decyphered. And I very well remember, that in the Volume they publiſhed, there was

much left in Cypher, which could not be underſtood; and which I believe they would have explained, if it had been in their Power: But you can eaſily ſatisfy yourſelf in this Point; if you either make a Cypher yourſelf, or write half a ſcore Lines out of ſeveral other Cyphers, and ſend them to the Artiſt: And you will then be convinced yourſelf, and be able to convince others; and then it will be to no Purpoſe to traffick any more in thoſe Commodities. In the mean Time, we muſt look out the ſafeſt Way for Conveyances; and truly I do not find, that many of mine have miſcarried: And I have perſuaded Mr. *Wright* to uſe the Conveyance by my Lady Abbeſs [b], which brings many other Letters very exactly to me. I hope you have received long ſince the King's Letter to my Lord of *Derby*. You may aſſure Sir *Thomas Middleton*, that the Commander in Chief for *South Wales*, is left to be choſen by the Commiſſioners, as in moſt other Counties: And if Mr. *Manſell* hath thoſe Affections, which many believe him to have; it is very probable, he will be choſen; for we have not heard from

[b] See above, *p.* 253.

Laborne

Laborne of late Years; though the King believes well of him, and would be very glad, that he appeared. I hope by this Time you have ſpoken with Mr. *Alleſtrey*; and I can add nothing to what hath been already ſo often ſaid in that Affair, but my hearty Sorrow, that nothing is yet done in it; and whoever the Objecter was, the King will not do him ſo much Credit, as to make any Alteration in his Nominations: And the Objecter muſt be of Age to remember, that he who was laſt Biſhop [c] of *Worceſter*, was never Biſhop of any other Place. You have indeed too much Reaſon to doubt, that he who makes thoſe Scruples, will never do any Thing he ſhould do. I would be very glad, you would tell me, who [d] it is.

I hope you have received the King's Letter for *Redman*, which was ſent with others by an Expreſs; ſo that I cannot fear the Miſcarriage.

As *Monk*'s Proceeding, *&c. to* [the King's Kindneſs] *as above*, p. 258, 259.

You receive herewith a Letter from the King to Sir *Henry* [e] *Chalmeley*, which you

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[c] Dr. *Prideaux*. See above, *p.* 242.

[d] It ſeems it was the Biſhop of *Oxford*. See above, *p.* 239, *&c.*

[e] See above, *p.* 231.

will

will desire his Nephew to send to him; and you may assure Mr. *Cholmeley* [f] of the King's great Kindness to him, and of the Sense he hath of the many Services he doth him. It would be great Pity, that the Business of *Yorkshire* should be disturbed by any Factions and Emulations amongst themselves, how good soever their Intentions are. It is long since, I asked you in a Letter somewhat concerning *Toby* [g] *Wickham*; and if you were acquainted with him, I would be glad. I asked you where he is, and what he doth: I presume Mr. *Cholmeley* knows all that concerns him.

This hath been written these two Days; and I meant not to have made any Addition; but the Express is just now arrived with the great News; who likewise brings your Letter of the 21st, which gives the King great Hope, that *Monk* is better disposed and resolved, than he yet avows: However the Business is in a good Way; and he will by Degrees be brought to it; if he had not rather others should have the Glory of such an Action, than himself: But,

[f] See above, p. 231.

[g] See above, p. 480, 481.

methinks,

methinks, this calling another Parliament [is] the fartheſt Way about, and I believe not eaſy to be practiſed. I pray, cauſe the inclos'd to be deliver'd to Mr. *Cholmeley*. God ſend us a good Meeting, and me Opportunities to ſerve you as,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *March* 6.

Hyde.

N°. XXVII.

I Do acknowledge to have receiv'd the Sum of one hundred Pounds by the Directions of Mr. *B. Bruſſels* the firſt of *April* 1660.

Charles R.

N°. XXVIII.

April 2, 1660. *Bruſſels.*

SIR,

IN mine of *Saturday* laſt to Mr. *Wright*, I deſir'd him to excuſe me to you, for not acknowledging your's of the 10th, both to the King, and my ſelf, which I had then newly

newly receiv'd; as I had your former of the 2d of the laſt Month. The King is abundantly ſatisfied with the Account you give of your Friend [h]; and hath heard nothing, that ſhould perſuade him, that *Monk* hath withdrawn any of his Confidence from him: But it is very true; one Letter from a reaſonable good Hand (which doth not ſuſpect, that we know any Thing of him) mentions him as a great Stickler with the Officers, to promote that Remonſtrance, which the General quaſhed; and I find many others, eſpecially about *Cheſter*, who believe *Redman* to be an Anabaptiſt, and that Brigade to be even ready to proteſt, and engage againſt the preſent Government. But nothing of thoſe Diſcourſes make any Impreſſions here; but his Majeſty promiſes himſelf great Effects of both their Services. And truly, if we may believe what ſome ſober Men of the City ſay of *Monk* himſelf, and ſome Expreſſions of his to them, we may reaſonably believe, that he is not only without any Malice or Sharpneſs towards the King, but even with very good Purpo-

[h] Colonel *Clobery*.

ſes

ſes for his Service, of which I hope we ſhall ſhortly ſee the Effects. I am now leſs frighted than I was, concerning your Letters, by what you ſay of the Decypherer; of whom I can give ſome gueſs, if he be a Doctor [1] formerly of *Oxford*, and now of *Cambridge*. But then I cannot again imagine, how any of our Letters have come to be decypher'd; for I am ſure, he cannot do it, if they were written carefully; nor have I heard of any that have been ſent from hence, that have been decypher'd. It is too much, that thoſe

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[1] After what has been ſaid above in the Note p. 61. I think there is no doubt but the Decypherer was Dr. *Wallis*; and if that be the Dr. meant here, my Lord *Clarendon* ſhould have ſaid, *formerly of* Cambridge, *now of* Oxford. For he was firſt of *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, where he ſtayed till after he was Maſter of Arts, in Hopes of being choſen Fellow, which at laſt he could not be; becauſe his County was full, as the College Phraſe is, which allows but one Fellow of any County: He removed afterwards to *Queen's* College in the ſame Univerſity, and was choſen Fellow there. But if my Lord *Clarendon* do not mean him, he may perhaps mean Dr. *Wilkins*, who was indeed formerly of *Oxford*, and then of *Cambridge*, viz. Maſter of *Trinity* College there, where he had been incorporated Doctor of Divinity, *March* 18, 1648, and having married *Cromwell's* Siſter, might for that Reaſon be ſuſpected; but was certainly too honeſt a Man to be guilty of ſuch Villany; though his *univerſal Character* ſufficiently ſhews his Skill. Dr. *Ward* (afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*) another great Mathematician, was incorporated Doctor of Divinity the ſame Day with Dr. *Wallis* at *Oxford*, and was in 1659 choſen Preſident of *Trinity* College there; ſo that he might be then of *Oxford*, as he was originally of *Cambridge*; but it is not probable, that he was ſuſpected.

from thence have met with that Misfortune; and I think you once told me, that ſomewhat writ in your Cypher had met with the ſame Fate. I pray inform your ſelf of that again, and let me know the worſt of it.

I have not been able to compute, that any Letters of mine to you have miſcarried; and there muſt be ſome great Miſtake, if that Letter, in which my Lord of *Derby*'s was inclos'd, hath not been deliver'd to you. It was writ the 20th of *February*, and ſent by a Servant of Sir *John Greenville*'s: All the Letters were made up in a Cover to him; and it ſeems by your's, that you receiv'd that Letter of the 20th; and how you could miſs the other, I cannot imagine; except it were by Miſtake made up, either in my Lord *Mordaunt*'s, or Sir *John Greenville*'s Letters: However, I ſend you another of the ſame from the King to my Lord, which I hope will have better Fortune. I pray, remember my Service to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and let him know, that Colonel *Worden* being ſent for over by his Friends, is now return'd; and truly we have not found, upon all the Enquiry we have made, any Thing that reflects upon him in point of Credit;

Credit; ſo that he carries with him the King's good Opinion, and I hope he will be ready to do him all Service there: And I muſt do him ſo much Right, that no Man can magnify Sir *Thomas Middleton* more, than he hath done upon all Occaſions. Concerning the Pardon [k], it ſhall be diſpatch'd here upon an Hour's warning; if the Party will cauſe it to be drawn there to his Satisfaction (there being no body here that can do it) and if he will get it ingroſs'd, one Draught for the Record, and the other for the great Seal. And then it ſhall be done with ſo much Secrecy, that the King's Secretary *Nicholas* and my ſelf ſhall only know of it; but there is no Clerk here, for whoſe Secrecy I will undertake. There need not be ſo much as a Blank left for the Date in the Engroſsment for the Seal; for I will put my *Recepi* upon that, to which the King's Hand is to be, according to what ſhall be fill'd up in the other. Mr. *John Heath*, who will be eaſily found there, and is of the King's Council, may be deſir'd, for the more Validity, to ſet his Hand to the

[k] Not improbably General *Monk*'s Pardon. See his Life by *Skinner*, p. 299.

Docket;

Docket; which I am confident he will do, if he be ſhew'd this part of my Letter; and upon my Aſſurance, that he ſhall find his Warrant in Secretary *Nicholas*'s, or my Hand; and then let it be ſent over by a faithful Meſſenger, who ſhall not ſtay an Hour for his Diſpatch; and when all this is done, the Party may be very confident, that the King intends him other Rewards, than a Pardon: And in the mean Time, he may aſſure himſelf, for the Quiet of his own Mind, that the King doth as heartily pardon him, as he deſires Pardon himſelf in Heaven.

I hope Dr. *Morley* [1] is by this Time with you, and will join with you in the Buſineſs of the Church, of which I can ſay no more, but that I hope God Almighty will not put it into their Power, who care ſo little for it, to ſuffer it to expire. The King is very well pleaſed with the Account Mr. *Cholmeley* hath given him, and is very confident of

[1] I ſuppoſe *George Morley*, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the Firſt, and Canon of *Chriſt Church*, who after the Murther of his Royal Maſter, having ſpent moſt of his Time abroad in Exile, was upon the Reſtoration, for his eminent Loyalty and great Sufferings, made firſt Dean of *Chriſt Church*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *October* 28, 1660, and at laſt Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *May* 14, 1662, and died at *Farnham* Caſtle *October* 29, 1684, of whom ſee a larger Account. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 581, *&c.*

his Uncle: But when any Thing is to be done in *Yorkſhire*, the King deſires, that Mr. *Cholmeley* would be there upon the Place, in order to bring the King's Friends into the Conjunction; and thoſe of inferior Condition may, I ſuppoſe, appear at the beginning; though the reſt of the greater Quality may forbear, till the Seaſon ſhall be judg'd ripe. My Lord *Langdale*[k] is not in this Country, but retir'd to a Monaſtery in *Germany*, to live with the more Frugality. I ſhall write to him, how much his Countrymen deſire him.

I pray, remember my Service to our Friend Mr. *Spelman*, and give him Aſſurance of all the Offices I can perform towards him; and I do not doubt, but to be able to ſerve him, at leaſt to ſuch a Degree as he propoſeth. The Presbyterians, and their Humours, and Appetites muſt be now ſo well known, that I hope no Arts or Artifices are omitted to diſpoſe them, for their own Sakes, as much as is poſſible to repair the Ruins they have made; and then the worſt of them will be ſo contradicted

[k] See above, *p.* 93.

and

and controlled by the beſt, that the Schiſm will appear. There are ſome of them, who have been eminent enough, when they were againſt us; who now either really are, or are willing to appear converted as well to a Piety towards the Church, as a Loyalty towards the King. I am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant, Hyde.

N°. XXIX.

SIR, *Breda, April* 16, 1660.

WHEN honeſt Mr. *Wright* left us, I had ſo much upon my Hands to diſpatch, that I obliged him to make my Excuſe to you, for not writing; which he promis'd me to do very confidently; and next to not writing at all, the Diſpatch I ſhall now ſend you, in the Acknowledgment both of your's of the 23d and the 30th, will need a new Excuſe: For the Truth is, I now am almoſt in as much Haſte, as I was when he left me. The King came hither but on *Wedneſday*, and I but the laſt Night; ſo that having but two or three Hours, to make uſe of a ſafe Meſſenger, I can hardly find the Letters I am to anſwer. The Proſpect of your Affairs looks very well towards us; and I am perſuaded, that

Monk will in the end appear to have proceeded like a ſober Man; and aſſure your ſelf, your Friend [l] cannot be without a very good Acknowledgment, for contributing much towards that Temper; and whatever Jealouſies there be among themſelves, between the Civil and Martial Counſellors; I do not find, there is any of the laſt Claſſis, by whom *Monk* is like to be advis'd, or who are like to do him ſo much Service in the Army, as your two [m] Friends are: And therefore, I pray, continue your Interpoſition with them, with all the Encouragements that can be deſir'd from the King, of which they may be moſt confident. And here I muſt not omit to tell you, that ſome Perſons of unqueſtionable Affections, and of great Quality, have ſent lately to the King, to make Propoſitions to him of engaging Colonel *Clobery*, as a Perſon moſt able to do him Service with the General; they not imagining, that we have any Knowledge or Communication with him; nor do we pretend it, but ſeem to decline to write ſuch Letters, as they deſire, out of an Apprehenſion, that

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[l] Colonel *Clobery*. Colonel *Redman*.

[m] I ſuppoſe Colonel *Clobery* and he

he is of the Republican Party, and not to be wrought upon. This we think very neceſſary you ſhould know; and it may be he himſelf; leſt it ſhould be intimated to him, that there is an ill Opinion of him here; which ſometimes falls out, by the Weakneſs of our Friends; when to avoid ſome unſeaſonable Overtures, or a more unſeaſonable Diſcovery, we ſeem to have Prejudice towards thoſe, in whom we have moſt confided.

Lord *Mordaunt* tells me of a Miſtake you incurr'd, in delivering a wrong Letter to Colonel *Redman*; but I ſuppoſe, you have ſince rectified it, by delivering the right Letter to him; otherwiſe I would have ſent you a Duplicate of it; as I did of that to my Lord of *Derby*, which I hope came ſafe to your Hands.

I am heartily glad, that Dr. *Morley* is with you, whom you will find a very worthy and diſcreet Perſon, and fit to keep you Company, in allaying the too much Heat and Diſtemper, which ſome of our Friends are in this unſeaſonable Conjuncture very much accus'd of; inſomuch as this very laſt Poſt hath brought over three or four Complaints to the King, of the very unskillful Paſſion

and Diſtemper of ſome of our Divines, in their late Sermons; with which, they ſay, that both the General and the Council of State are highly offended; as truly they have Reaſon to be; if, as they report, there have been ſuch Menaces and Threats againſt thoſe, who have hitherto had the Power of doing Hurt, and are not yet ſo much depriv'd of it, that they ought to be undervalued. One [n] Dr. *Griffith* is mention'd for

[n] Dr. *Matthew Griffith*, of whom we have this Account in Mr. *Wood* (*Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 249.) that he was born of good Parentage in *London*, entered Commoner of *Brazen-Noſe* College in the beginning of *May*, 1615, aged ſixteen Years or more, took one Degree in Arts as Member of *Glouceſter-Hall*, then entring into Holy Orders, ſoon after became Lecturer of St. *Dunſtan*'s in the Weſt, under the Inſpection (as 'tis ſaid, *David Loyd*'s *Memoirs*, *p.* 521.) of Dr. *John Downs*, whoſe Favourite he was: Afterwards by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s, he was preſented to the Rectory of St. *Mary Magdalen* near old *Fiſh-ſtreet*, where ſhewing himſelf a grand Epiſcoparian, he was in the beginning of the Rebellion ſequeſter'd, plunder'd, and impriſon'd in *Newgate*; whence being let out, and forced to fly, he was taken and confin'd in *Peterhouſe*: At length diſcharged, he retired to the King at *Oxford*, by whoſe Letters he was created Doctor of Divinity in *June* 1643, and made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains. On the declining of the King's Cauſe he returned to *London*, and during the Uſurpation, privately officiated to the poor Cavaliers in the Church of *England* Service, for which he ſuffered ſeven violent Aſſaults, 'tis ſaid, and five Impriſonments, the laſt in *Newgate* in the beginning of the Year 1660. After the King's Return he was reſtored to his Rectory, made Preacher to the honourable Societies of the Temples, and Rector of *Bladon* in *Oxfordſhire*: But whether he was made Prebendary of any Church, or Dean,

for having preach'd a Sermon of that Kind, and ſince printed and dedicated it to the General; who, they ſay, is extreamly offended at it. Other Perſons are likewiſe nam'd, as guilty of the ſame Indiſcretions; who are ſo well known to me, that I do not believe it: And the King is very earneſtly deſir'd, to ſend ſome ſuch Order and Reprehenſion, under his own Hand, to reſtrain thoſe, who profeſs Devotion to his Service, from ſuch Exceſſes; but it is not eaſy to do it in that Way that is preſcrib'd; nor are we willing to believe, the Information is exact to all Particulars. However the King is really troubled at it, and extreamly apprehenſive of Inconvenience and Miſ-

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Dean, which Mr. *Wood* ſays he much deſerved, he does not know.

In the Account which is there added of what the Doctor writ and publiſhed, he mentions the Sermon which is here ſaid to have ſo much offended General *Monk*, intituled, *The Fear of God and the King*, preached at *Mercer's* Chapel, *March* 25, 1660, on *Prov.* xxiv. 21. in which ſhewing himſelf too zealous for the Royal Cauſe, before General *Monk* durſt own it, to pleaſe and blind the Fanatick Party he was put into *Newgate*, but ſoon after releas'd. To this Sermon there was an Anſwer made by *John Milton*, intituled. *Brief Notes upon a late Sermon intituled, The Fear of God*, &c. whereupon came out a little Thing called, *No blind Guides*, addreſſed to the Author, in two Sheets, in *Roger L'Eſtrange's Apology*, *London* 1660, 4to. The Dr. died at *Bladon*, *October* 14, 1665, and was buried in the Chancel of that Church. See Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, *Part* 2. *p.* 170, 171.

chief to the Church and himſelf, from Offences of that Kind; and hath commanded me to deſire, not only you and Dr. *Morley*, to uſe your Credit and Authority with ſuch Men, and to let them know from his Majeſty, the Senſe he hath of it; but if you find Occaſion, that you do ſpeak to the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Salisbury*, to interpoſe their Authority, to conjure thoſe Men, to make a better Judgment of the Seaſon, and not to awaken thoſe Jealouſies and Apprehenſions, which all Men ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh. And truly, I hope, if Faults of this Kind are not committed, that both the Church and the Kingdom will be better dealt with, than is imagin'd: And I am confident, thoſe good Men will be more troubled, that the Church ſhould undergo a new Suffering by their Indiſcretion, than for all that they have ſuffer'd hitherto themſelves. I ſhould not have enlarg'd ſo much upon this Particular, without Command; and I ſhould not have received that Command, if his Majeſty had not receiv'd very particular Information and Complaint in the Point; and I am ſure this Advertiſement cannot be ill taken, though in truth there ſhould have been no Grounds for the other.

other. I wiſh you all Happineſs, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

Nº. XXXI.

April 22, 1660. *Breda.*

SIR,

MY laſt to you was of the 16th, under Cover to Mr. *Wright*, when I had many of your's upon my Hands undecypher'd; ſo that I am now to account to you for your's of the 16th and 19th paſt, to the King and to myſelf, and another of the 26th to my ſelf. The King is very glad, that there is ſo good an Underſtanding between *Monk* and your ° Friend; and he hopes all will proceed hereafter without any Rubs; and that the Army will be reduc'd to a good Temper, both by putting out ill Men, and by bringing in good. I am very glad, that Colonel *Venables* is Governor of *Cheſter*; of whoſe Affections the

° Colonel *Clobery*.

King

King hath not the leaſt Doubt: yet I have thought to ask you a Queſtion concerning him long, whether he be of the Independent Party in Point of Religion; which I have heard confidently averred by ſome, who have great Kindneſs for him, and Aſſurance of his Affection to the King; and together with that, a great Opinion of his Parts and Underſtanding, which methinks ſhould hardly conſiſt with the other.

Mr. *Wright* ſpoke to me of thoſe Sums to be return'd to Dr. *Earle*[p] and Mr. *Hawles*, which I was not able to do; but I think Lord *Mordaunt* undertook to do it at *Antwerp*; but I would know, whether it be done or no. I am perſuaded, I did ſend that Acquittance you mention; however you ſhall be ſure to receive another very quickly. You do not ſend me Word, in whoſe Hands *Shrewsbury* is put: I wiſh it were in Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s. The King knows not what to ſay more of the Buſineſs of the Church; and preſumes that my Lord of *Ely*, and the Biſhop of *Salisbury* will be able to make a Judgment, how Things are like to ſucceed, and proceed accordingly.

[p] See an Account of him. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol.* 1. *Col.* 251.

I pray

I pray remember me very kindly to *Clem. Spelman*, and tell him, that I have Authority from the King, to aſſure him, that he ſhall find himſelf in his Care; and he will quickly find the Effects of it. I did mention the firſt Place to the King, but have not yet mention'd this laſt, which is nam'd by you; nor do I think it equal either in Profit or Reputation to the other. Beſides, if I am not deceiv'd, there was ſome Grant made of it to Sir *Edward Warder*'s Son at *Oxford*; it having been an Office for ſome Deſcents in that Family. However, I am very glad, he hath ſuch a Collection of the Papers, which I ſhall be very glad to receive from him when we meet; and will rather defer it till then, than put him to the Trouble of ſuch a Journey in this Conjuncture; when his Preſence there may be of more Uſe: And truly, I hope, it will not be long, before we meet. When Lord *Mordaunt* was here, he told me of that Miſtake concerning Colonel *Redman*'s Letter, which proceeded not from any Error here; for you acknowledg'd the Receipt of it long before the 20th of *February*, when I ſent that for the Earl of *Derby*. And I remember, you told me, that you once thought to

have ſent it to him into the Country: But his Friend chang'd his Opinion; and having ſent him Word, that he had it for him, reſolv'd to keep it in his Hands, till he came to Town: That to him was directed with an *R.* and the other for my Lord of *Derby* with a *D.* Nor can there be any proper Excuſe made in ſuch a Caſe, but to let him know the true Miſtake, that you gave him one Letter for another; and I now ſend you the Duplicate of the former. I find there have been more Miſtakes concerning him, than concerning Colonel *Clobery*; and that he hath been generally taken to be fixed to the Republick Party: And it may be, he hath been the more able to do Service that Way. Since I writ thus far, I have receiv'd your's of the 6th of this Month; upon which I have neither Time, nor, in truth, occaſion to enlarge much: Only I will not omit to tell you (upon what you ſaid in your former of the 30th, and in this) that you may be moſt confident, the King will be moſt tender in parting with the Revenues of the Church: And I cannot imagine, that longer Leaſes can be preſſed for, than three Lives, reſerving the old Rent: And I cannot chuſe but hope and believe,

that

that how untoward Accounts ſoever ſome of the Presbyterians make, there will be a better Bargain made for the Church, than is yet imagin'd.

Since Dr. *Morley* hath not yet his Cypher by him, I muſt deſire you to tell him, and to make uſe of the Advertiſement yourſelf, that the King very well approves, and deſires, that he and you, and other diſcreet Men of the Clergy ſhould enter into Converſation, and have frequent Conferences with thoſe of the Presbyterian Party; that if it be poſſible, you may reduce them to ſuch a Temper, as is conſiſtent with the good of the Church: And it may be it would be no ill Expedient to promote that Temper, to aſſure them of preſent good Preferments in the Church. But in my own Opinion, you ſhould rather endeavour to win over thoſe, who being recover'd, will have both Reputation and Deſire to merit from the Church, than be over ſolicitous to comply with the Pride and Paſſion of thoſe, who propoſe extravagant Things: as what can be ſaid to the Divine, who is not only ſo well ſatisfied with his Rebellion, but would require other Men to renounce their Innocence, and juſtify him; which I

am

am confident no Parliament will ever do? You find by my laſt, how ſenſible the King is of thoſe Indiſcretions of Dr. *Griffith* [p] and other Clergymen, and of the great Diſſervice it doth him; which I perceive by your's, is as much as we heard before. I ſhall not need to deſire you to apply all poſſible Remedies to it; and if the Lord *Fairfax* [q] were there (as I hope he will be ſhortly)

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[p] See above, *p.* 518.

[q] *Thomas*, Son and Heir of *Ferdinando*, Lord *Fairfax* of *Denton* in *Yorkſhire*, Baron of *Camerone* in *Scotland*, born at *Denton* in *January* 1611, after ſome Time ſpent in St. *John's* College in *Cambridge* (ſee the Note above, *p.* 24, 25,) bred a Soldier in the Low-Countries under *Horatio* Lord *Vere*, on his Father's Death *March* 13, 1647, ſucceeded to that Honour; before which, as his Father was very active in the Rebellion, ſo the Son ſucceeded the Earl of *Eſſex* as *Generaliſſimo* of all the Parliament Forces, *December* 31, 1644. But as he would not ſit upon the King's Trial, though nominated the chief Judge: So when his Majeſty was condemn'd, he us'd his Power and Intereſt to have that infamous Execution deferr'd for ſome Days, forbearing his coming among the Officers, fully reſolving with his own Regiment to prevent it, or have it deferr'd, till he could make a Party in the Army to ſecond his Deſign; but was with certain Officers (moſt probably by *Cromwell's* Artifice) detained in Prayer or Diſcourſe all that fatal Morning, till the bloody Work was over, without ſo much as his knowing it. On King *Charles* the Second's going into *Scotland* to recover his Kingdom, he layed down his Commiſſion, and retired to his Seat in *Yorkſhire*, where he was ready to have join'd Sir *George Booth*, if his Deſign had ſucceeded; and did actually appear at the Head of a great Party ſoon after, to aſſiſt General *Monk* againſt *Lambert*, and declared for a free Parliament; and being choſen the firſt Knight of his Shire for the new Parliament,

ly) thoſe Gentlemen will find, that He doth in no Degree think himſelf beholden to them. I ſhall add no more, but that I am very heartily,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

The incloſed from the King to Colonel *Redman* is not the Duplicate, but an Enlargement of what he writ formerly, taking Notice of the Miſcarriage and Miſtake of the former.

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liament, as he had been formerly the moſt active Commiſſioner of the Rebel-Parliament, to preſent their Anſwer to King *Charles* the Firſt's Meſſages about *Hull*; ſo was one of the twelve ſent by this to wait on King *Charles* the Second in *Holland*. After the Diſſolution of that Parliament he retired again to his Seat, and died there *November* 12, *Anno* 1671. (*Wood Faſti Oxon. Vol.* 2. *Col.* 766, 767, 768. *Echard's Hiſt. Vol.* 2. *Book* 3. *ch.* 3. *p.* 752, 753.) He was ſucceeded in the Honour by *Henry*, his Couſin German, whoſe Grandſon *Thomas* is now Lord *Fairfax*. *Britiſh Compend. Vol.* 2. *p.* 237.

N°. XXXI.

Breda May 20, 1660.

General *Monk*,

I Was the laſt Week diſpatching *Bernard Greenvile*, with my Anſwer to your's of the 20th of the laſt Month, when in the Inſtant as he was departing, I receiv'd the good News of what was done on *May* Day, upon the Reception of my Letters and Declaration in the two Houſes, which made moſt of what I had writ to you unneceſſary to be ſent; and ſo I kept the Meſſenger ſtill here. I have ſince receiv'd your's of the 5th by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, with the Addreſs the Officers of the Army made to you; upon which I ſhall not enlarge till the Return of the ſame Meſſenger. I have likewiſe another from you of the ſame Date; upon all which, beſides the great Miracle which God Almighty hath wrought upon the Hearts of the Nation, I muſt ever acknowledge your extraordinary Affection to me, and your very diſcreet Conduct of this great Work, in which you have had to do with Perſons of ſuch different Humours, and contrary Affections, which you have

wonderfully compos'd; and yet you cannot but expect that there are many Perſons ſtill contriving the ſame Miſchiefs againſt me and you; and who muſt be rather ſuppreſs'd by your Authority and Power, than won and reconciled by your Indulgence; and, it may be, a little Severity towards ſome, would ſooner reduce the reſt, than any Thing you can elſe do. You may be moſt confident, and I do again renew my Promiſe to you (for the Performance of which you may engage your Life) that I will make good, whatever you have found neceſſary to promiſe to thoſe, who have and ſhall adhere to you, to make your Work the more eaſy: And I am moſt confident, if I were with you, I ſhould in a much ſhorter Time ſatisfy them, and put them into a full Security, than will be done by thoſe formal Ways, which I hear ſome Men endeavour to go about, and in which many Obſtructions will be found, which I could eaſily remove and prevent; and if any Courſe be taken, in which a juſt Diſcontent remains with any, and Juſtice itſelf is wounded, the Foundation is not well laid for a laſting Security. I am confident, I ſhall prevent all Inconveniencies of this kind, when I am with you,

which I muſt conjure you to haſten by all your Intereſt.

And I tell you again, I will not leave my ſelf Bread, rather than every Thing ſhall not be perform'd, which you promiſe to your Officers and Soldiers on my behalf. I am confident, you know there hath been, and is ſtill a Cabal, which endeavours to infuſe and keep alive all ill Humours and Diſſatisfactions in the Army; and to obſtruct in the Houſes, and defer my being ſent for, which by the Bleſſing of God, can only put an end to all Diſtempers: and therefore I muſt conjure you to uſe all your Intereſt for the Removal of all thoſe Obſtructions, and all unneceſſary Formalities, which may retard my coming; and you may be as confident, as of any Thing in this World, that if it were in my Power to recede from any Thing, I have promis'd in my Declaration, or Letters, I would as much abhor the doing it, as any Wickedneſs that can be imagin'd: And ſurely, a full and general Security, which no Man is more ſolicitous to eſtabliſh than I am, can never be ſo well provided for, as by my Preſence with you, which by God's Bleſſing would diſappoint all ill Deſigns, which are contriv'd againſt

me and you, and the Peace of the Nation. I expect within few Days the Arrival of the Committee from the Parliament; and for their better Reception and Accommodation (this Town being already too full) I reſolve to accept the *States* Invitation, and to go on *Monday* next to the *Hague*, as the neareſt and moſt commodious Place, from whence I may embark; for which you will eaſily believe I have longing enough, that I may ſee you, and let the World ſee the Senſe I have of the great Service you have done for

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

N°. XXXII.

Superſcrib'd for the Lord General *Monk.*

General Monk,

THE kind Meſſage I have receiv'd from you by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, hath added very much to the Contentment I have found, in that it hath pleaſed God to make

you ſo eminently inſtrumental in the unexpected Happineſs of his Majeſty and his Subjects; to the perfecting of which good Work, I ſhall bring my utmoſt Endeavours, with all poſſible Reſignation of any private Concernment; and deſire you to be aſſured, that as I have taken up the ſame Profeſſion of Life with you; ſo I ſhall think it no Diminution to imitate you in continuing it, or in laying it down, as his Majeſty, and his well affected Subjects ſhall think moſt expedient; and that no Man rejoyceth more heartily than I do, in the great Senſe his Majeſty and his three Kingdoms have of the Obligation you have laid on them, by your ſteady and prudent Conduct in this glorious Deſign of our Recovery; being reſolv'd to give you all the Proofs within my Power, of my being with a great deal of Truth,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

James.

Breda May 20, 1660.

N°.

N°. XXXIII.

Superſcrib'd for
Gen. *Monk.*

Breda May 21.

SIR,

THE Obligations that we have receiv'd from you in the general, are of ſuch a Nature, that I could not chuſe (having the Opportunity of this Bearer) but let you know the great Senſe I in my own particular have of them, which I do hardly know how to expreſs: I ſhall deſire you to believe, that there is no body has a greater, nor will be more ready to let you know it; nor ſtrive by all Means that are in my Power, to let you ſee how much I am really,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Friend,

Henry.

N°. XXXIV.

The Chapel Plate was as followeth.

UPON the Altar or Communion Table upon ſolemn Days were ſet,

Two great Water-Pots, and a great Piece call'd the Ship, which were for Ornament more than Uſe.

Two Baſons for the Offerings.

A great Bible and the Book of Common-Prayer cover'd with Plate.

Two Chalices or Communion Cups; the one for his Majeſty of clean Gold, the other Silver and gilt, ſuitable to the other Plate.

More, a couple of Plates, one of Gold, the other Silver and gilt.

Two Flaggons with great round Bellies.

Two great Candleſticks.

Indors'd, King's Chapel Plate.

N°. XXXV.

Northamptonſhire *Addreſs.*

To his Excellency the Lord General Monk.

WE the Gentlemen, Miniſters, Free-holders, and others of the County of

of *Northampton*, conceiving that the firſt Force put upon the Parliament, hath been an Encouragement to open the Way to all the reſt; and finding that your Excellency (under God) hath been the principal Means for the Repairing of the laſt Interruption, are the more encourag'd (having the Preſence of your Excellency now among us) to deſire your Aſſiſtance in the procuring theſe our juſt Deſires, as the viſible Means of a happy Peace and Settlement of theſe Nations.

Whereas, every free-born Subject of *England* is ſuppos'd to be preſent in Parliament, by the Knights, or Burgeſſes of the Place where he liveth, and thereby is preſum'd to conſent to all Things that paſs in Parliament; ſo it is now, that there is not one Knight for all the Counties in *Wales*, nor for diverſe Counties in *England*, and ſome of them the largeſt in *England*, as that of *Yorkſhire*: And for this County and the Boroughs, but two of nine.

1. Therefore we deſire, that all vacant Places may be ſupplied, whether they became vacant by Death or Seclusion; and that thoſe that were ſecluded by Force in the Year 1648, may ſit again; and that no

previous Oath or Engagement may be put upon any, that is choſen by his Country to ſit and vote freely in Parliament.

2. That no free-born Subject of *England* may have any Taxes levied upon him without his Conſent in Parliament.

3. That the Fundamental Laws of *England*, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Property of Goods may be aſſerted and defended, according to the firſt Declarations of the Parliament, when they undertook the War.

4. That the true Proteſtant Religion may be profeſſed and defended, all Hereſies and Schiſms diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed, a lawful Succeſſion of godly and able Miniſters continued and encouraged, and the two Univerſities, and all Colleges in both of them, preſerv'd and countenanc'd.

5. That all the Soldiery that will acquieſce in the Judgment of a free and full Parliament, in the promoting and ſettling a happy Peace upon theſe Foundations, may have their Arrears paid; and as many as the Parliament ſhall think neceſſary, may be continu'd in the Publick Service: And that as many of them, as have been Purchaſers of Lands from the Parliament, may either

either enjoy their Bargains, or their Money paid back with Intereſt, and ſome conſiderable Advantage over and above, for their Satisfaction; as the Parliament ſhall judge, may be moſt expedient to the good of the Nation.

No. XXXVI.

Jan. 10.

SIR,

I Love to receive, but hate to write long Letters; yet this, I foreſee, will be ſo, and (which is worſe) a fooliſh one too; for the more I think of this Buſineſs, the leſſer able I am to ſatisfy my ſelf; ſuch Difficulties ſtill offering themſelves, as I know not how to maſter; and therefore, were I not engag'd to anſwer your's by my laſt, you ſhould have been eas'd of this Trouble; which your Invitation, and my improvident Promiſe brings upon you.

I have perus'd what you ſent from the good Biſhop with much Content; and beſeech you to preſent my moſt humble Service and Thanks for ſo great a Favour. I now return it, and put it again into your own Power, to make good your Promiſe, that

that no Copies ſhall be taken; though I ſhould have been very glad to have reſerv'd one by me, if leave would have been given.

The cloſe of that Diſcourſe ſeems very rigid; for if all be ſtill oblig'd to ſo ſtrict an Obſervance of the old Laws, 'tis too manifeſt, that all (without Exception) in ſome Degree or other have been to blame, and (what is worſe) are like to continue ſo ſtill. I ſhall not tell you, what I have heard ſome otherwiſe minded ſay, not without ſome ſhew of Reaſon; both becauſe it would make little to my preſent Purpoſe, which is only to put you in mind of what Diſcourſe formerly paſſed between us; and becauſe I am ſo far of the ſame Opinion, that I durſt never yet go to any Church, where the old Prayers were not uſed; though I dare not condemn all that do.

But if the Caſe ſo ſtand with the Clergy, I wiſh his Lordſhip would conſider, what a great piece of Charity it would be to relieve them; and if it may be done by any, how inexcuſable they are that do it not: And the Truth is, I ſhall ſooner expect ſo great a Bleſſing from his Lordſhip's Wiſdom, Courage, and Goodneſs, than from any; and if I ſhould ſay, from all the reſt

of

of his Order, I ſhould but ſpeak my Thoughts. But how this may be done, is, I confeſs, beyond my Underſtanding to tell you; nor can I repreſent the Condition of this poor Church better to my Lord, than you and others have done; who have ſeen more Abroad, than my Retiredneſs would give me leave to obſerve. He that hath either his Eyes or Ears open, muſt needs know the Confuſion to be great, and the State of it moſt lamentable; and that not only in Regard of the wild Schiſmaticks, but even of thoſe who would be own'd, and may paſs for the better and ſounder Part. To inſtance in one Particular, to which at preſent I ſhall for the moſt part confine my ſelf. Amongſt thoſe that either are, or would be thought loyal Subjects to the King, and obedient Sons of this Church, there is great Diverſity of Opinion and Practice about Prayer, and the publick Worſhip of God; ſome believing themſelves excus'd by the Times, if they wholly omit it; ſome contriving the Subſtance of it into a Prayer of their own making; ſuppoſing they have done their Duty well, if they pray nothing againſt the old Form; others retain part, ſome more, ſome leſs, according

according to their ſeveral Judgments; and ſome again holding themſelves oblig'd to uſe all, according to their former Engagements; and not ſo much as to communicate with any that uſe it not (ſuppoſing them ſchiſmatical) are conſequently depriv'd of the Benefit of others Miniſtry, and excluded from any publick Employment themſelves, to their own great Prejudice, and the greater Scandal of the well affected Laity. Thus it is already; and 'tis like Time will produce more Diviſions, both in this Particular, and many others; and in that Confuſion the Church be wholly loſt, if timely Remedies be not applied. The Perſons thus divided in Judgment are Men of worth; there being on all Sides ſome moſt to be valued, both for their Piety, and Learning; and therefore as not haſtily to be condemn'd, ſo like enough to give Reputation to their ſeveral Opinions and Practices; and ſo continue the Breach God knows how long.

I am not wiſe enough to preſcribe a Remedy; nor to tell you how theſe Differences may be reconciled; but thus much I can eaſily foreſee, that Diſputing and Conference cannot do it. To attempt it that Way, would

would be endleſs and fruitleſs: And I doubt, Authority cannot do it by any rigorous exacting of Obedience to the old Laws; for many will think themſelves not oblig'd in a Caſe of ſuch Danger; and would not want Arguments ſufficient in ſuch a Cauſe, to draw a great Party after them; and (if we may judge by what we have already ſeen) many will want that Courage to do what yet they believe they ought to do; and ſuppoſe all would agree to do it; what could the probable end of that Courſe be (as the Times are) but the total Ruin of the beſt part of the Clergy, and of this poor Church with them?

There is no Way then to me imaginable left, to ſettle a Church of any one Communion among us (without which we cannot long ſubſiſt) but by giving ſuch a Temper and Moderation to the old Laws in all Matters, as theſe Times will bear, and by caſting the Form of God's publick Worſhip in the ſame Mould; keeping ſtill to the Duty we owe to God and the King, and receding as little as may be, from the old Way in all. And this was it, I meant, by regulating the Church; and if it were firſt done in Prayers, other Matters might be proceeded

proceeded unto, as Occaſion is offer'd, and the Times give Advantage. If you ask me, how this ſhould be done, and by what Power: I anſwer: It may be done ſafely by the Biſhops themſelves, could they agree in Opinion, how far this Remiſſion ought to extend; and did they but ſtate the whole Matter, as a Caſe of Conſcience, what might or might not be done; and either command, or but recommend it to the Practice of the Clergy; they would certainly be obeyed, if not by all, yet by the moſt and beſt of them; who look upon them now as in the State and Condition of Primitive Biſhops, and under a Civil Authority, though not Pagan, yet clearly Antichriſtian, and ſuch as endeavour to deſtroy the Church of God; ſo in this Exigency neceſſarily freed from the Obligation of ſuch former Laws, as Violence and Rebellion have made utterly impracticable; and to this their former ſolemn Engagements at their Ordination will contribute much. But if you object, that many, according to their ſeveral Diſpoſitions, Parts, or Intereſts would likewiſe be of ſeveral Opinions, and not give ſuch Obedience, as is ſuppos'd, to what the Biſhops ſhould command, or commend to their Practice;

tice; and farther, that 'tis not very likely, the Biſhops themſelves would eaſily agree, ſome being more remiſs in Judgment, others more rigid: I anſwer,

2dly, That another Way may be taken, which will be much more effectual, tho' not altogether ſo ſafe as the former; and that is, to do it by Commiſſion, Leave, or at leaſt ſome Intimation from the King: For in ſuch Caſes, 'tis neither ſafe, nor wiſe to be too nice and punctual. And this Power given, to be expreſs'd in few Words, but of large Extent, leaving, upon the Matter, the whole Buſineſs of giving Temper to the old Laws, to their Diſcretions. The Form may be contriv'd here; but this, as not to be granted to any one; becauſe he may be hindred by Sickneſs, Impriſonment, and other Accidents, from putting it in Execution (then a new Commiſſion muſt be ſought, and perhaps at a Time, when it cannot be ſo eaſily had, as now) ſo not to be given to above three Biſhops at the moſt, both for more Secrecy, and for avoiding Diverſity of Opinion among them (which may wholly fruſtrate the End of it) yet with Power to aſſume others to them at Diſcretion. And this is not ſo dangerous, as at firſt it may be apprehended: For, 1ſt, 'Tis

1ſt, 'Tis not equal to the Danger of governing themſelves by the old Laws; to which, if they believe they are oblig'd, they muſt certainly run upon Ruin.

2dly, The Danger is only in the Diſcovery; and that may very probably be prevented; for the King himſelf is a Perſon of great Secrecy; and it may be done with him by any one Perſon, they dare truſt moſt; and where can they find a fitter than Dr. *Coſins?* The Grant once paſs'd, they may either ſuffer it to reſt with him, or have it ſent hither, with Safety enough; and it being within ſo few Breaſts, and thoſe equally oblig'd to Concealment, what Danger can there be of Diſcovery?

More Danger (you will ſay) of their being diſobeyed; if they do not diſcover by what Authority they do it: And ſo all this will be to no Purpoſe. For why ſhould they aſſume that Power, will ſome ſay? Have not they an Obedience to pay to the old Laws, as well as we? And if they may diſpenſe with themſelves and us, why may not we do it without them, the Equity of the Caſe allowing it?

This will be eaſily anſwer'd, I believe, to all; to the moſt I am confident.

1ſt, By the Obligation and Power that Chriſtian Biſhops are known to have, and to have ever us'd, to provide for God's Service and the Church, when under the Perſecution of the Civil Power.

2dly, By making the Indulgence and Conditions of the Communion as large as may be, excluding none which poſſibly may be kept within it; which hath been the Fault of too many particular Churches already, and ſuch as hath begot and continued ſo many unhappy Differences all over *Chriſtendom*. Let this be done (as indeed I think both in Prudence and Conſcience it ought) and judge whether in ſuch favourable Allowances, they would be diſobeyed; ſince Intereſt never wants Arguments to perſuade.

This, when it comes to be put in Practice, will deſerve deep Conſideration, and be a Task equal to their Lordſhips Wiſdoms. To deſcend to more Particulars, is beyond my Skill; but though I cannot adviſe, I ſhall readily obey the Commands or Directions of my Superiors.

Thus far I had written, before your laſt came to my Hands: The Carrier, I know not by what Accident, coming later this

Return, than uſually: And I am ſorry for it; for it might well have ſaved me this Labour, my Lord having already given Approbation of one of the Courſes here propos'd. However I am reſolv'd to ſend it, that you may ſee how ready I was to keep my Word with you, though at preſent in a very ill Condition to do it; for I am exceedingly afflicted by a great and ſudden Defluxion of Rheum into my Eyes; which I have not been of a long Time before troubled with. I meddle not with your Water, becauſe I conceive it more proper to clear, than cure the Eyes; but I have twice us'd a Water ſent me by my Lord of *Ely*, and have found more good by it, than in ſo ſhort a Time could be expected. I pray you be pleas'd to remember my Thanks for this likewiſe.

I believe the Buſineſs under Conſideration will require much more Time to ripen, than is yet imagined; and if my Lord think fit to command me any Thing, I will obey and ſubmit; though at preſent I take my ſelf the unfitteſt Perſon that can be thought on to paſs between the Biſhops, both for diverſe other Reaſons, and likewiſe becauſe I have found that Averſeneſs in ſome of them

them already, as they would not admit any Diſcourſe about it; but have deſir'd me to mention it no more to them. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* I have no Intereſt at all in, nor I believe any elſe, ſo much as to get an Hand into his Purſe; but 'tis a very prudent Propoſal of my Lord's to gain him; and I rather wiſh it were, than hope it will be done. I cannot ſay Dr. *Coſins* is provided for; but I have Reaſon to believe, that both he and Dr. *Earle* will be; and if I find they be not, I will try ſome other Way to do it.

I muſt beg leave to anſwer that part of your Letter from St. *Paul's Church-Yard* by the next Return; for I cannot ſo much as look upon the Title of the Book, having written almoſt as long, as I can ſee any Thing; for indeed my Eyes are in a very ill Condition. I thank you for your Pains, and deſire you to enquire more particularly after any Thing written by *John Michael*; ſo deſiring your Prayers, I reſt

Yours.

I perceive already by the Note, that it differs in the Prices formerly ſent; and ſure that ought not to be.

Mr. *Brunſell* hath your Letter.

No. XXXVII.

MEMORANDUMS.

Epiſcopatus Herefordenſis. } THere is an impropriate Rectory, the Name of the Place I know not, of three hundred Pounds *per Annum*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, within four Miles of that City, with a very good Houſe upon it, which was let for Lives; and there was but one Life in being, when the now Biſhop of *Ely* was [p] Biſhop there. And though his Lordſhip was proffered a thouſand Marks, and believes he might have had a thouſand Pounds to renew the Leaſe; yet he refus'd it, on Purpoſe that it might be reſerv'd in Demeſne to the Biſhop for the Time to come. And accordingly he gave his late Majeſty an Account of it; who very much approved of what he had done, and gave Command both to Biſhop [q] *Field*, and Biſhop [r] *Cooke* ſucceſ-

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[p] *Viz. Anno* 1634.

[q] Dr. *Theophilus Field* Biſhop of St. *David's*, who ſucceeded Biſhop *Wrenn* in this See, *December* 15, 1635. *Le Neve Faſti Eccl. Anglic. p.* 112.

[r] Dr. *George Cooke* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, tranſlated to this See on Biſhop *Field's* Death, *June* 18, 1636, died *December* 10, 1646. *Le Neve* ibid.

ſively

ſively not to renew it: So that in Probability it is now clearly expired, and may be a good Improvement to that Biſhoprick.

Epiſcopatus *Norwich.*

WHen Dr. *Scambler* [r] was Biſhop of *Norwich*, he let a Leaſe of above eighty Particulars to Queen *Elizabeth*, for eighty Years, at a very ſmall reſerv'd Rent; for inſtance, one Houſe for four Pence, worth forty Pounds *per Annum*: When the now Biſhop of *Ely* was Biſhop [t] there, he gave his late Majeſty an Account of it; and of how great Advantage it would be to that See, if thoſe Particulars were enhans'd to a treble Rent, when the Leaſe ſhould expire. His Majeſty approv'd well of it, and gave Order accordingly to Biſhop *Montague*, not to renew the Leaſe. His Majeſty by this Means had it in his Thoughts to divide that Dioceſs into two (it being very great for the Number of Churches) and to ſettle a Biſhop at St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*, or *Sudbury* (where there are two very fair Churches) and to conſtitute

[r] Dr. *Edmund Scambler* tranſlated to this See from that of *Peterborough*, *January* 5, 1584, died *September* 25, 1602.

[t] Tranſlated from *Hereford* thither, *November* 10, 1635, and thence to *Ely*, *May* 5, 1638.

a Dean and Chapter of ſuch Perſons, as had the beſt Livings near adjoining, either in his own Gift, or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s. Theſe eighty Particulars (as it is thought) may well bear a thouſand Pounds Rent *per Annum*, and the Leaſe is within ſeven or eight Years of expiring.

The two following Letters, from two great Ornaments of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge* (copied from the Originals by my worthy Friend Mr. *Baker*) falling within the Time of this Hiſtory, and doing ſuch Honour to the College, of which I was long an unworthy Member, I thought fit to add them to this Appendix of Letters.

To the Reverend and my very loving Friends Dr. Beale, *the Provoſt, and other the Fellows of St.* John's *College in* Cambridge.

[*In anſwer to one from the College.*]

AFter my hearty Commendations, ſo mindful I am of the ancient Favours I receiv'd in that Society of St. *John*'s, whilſt I was a Student there, and ſo ſenſible of your preſent Civility towards me, as I may not

not upon this Invitation, paſs by either of them unacknowledg'd; and therefore do hereby very heartily thank you for renewing to me the Senſe of the one, and affording me the Favour of the other: And in both theſe Regards ſhall be very apprehenſive of any Occaſions, wherein I may do any good Offices, either towards that Houſe, or your ſelves, the Provoſt, and Fellows thereof. I ſhall not farther detain the Gentleman that brought me your Letter, but bid you all very heartily farewell, and reſt

Your moſt faithful Friend and Servant,

Covent-Garden *this* 8th *of* Feb. 1639. Strafforde.

For the Preſident of St. John's *College in* Cambridge, *with my humble Service.* [*Meaning I preſume the Maſter Dr.* Beale.]

I Receiv'd lately a Letter from yourſelf and others of your noble Society, wherein as many Titles were given me, to which I had none; ſo that which I ſhould moſt willingly have acknowledg'd, and might with moſt Juſtice claim, you were not pleaſed to vouchſafe me, that is, that of a St.

John's Man. I confeſs I am both proud and aſham'd of that, and the latter in Reſpect, that the Fruits are unproportionable to the Seedplot: Yet, Sir, as little Learning as I brought from you, and as little as I have ſince increaſed and watered; what I did bring, I am ſure I carry about me, an indelible Character of Affection and Duty to that Society, and an extraordinary longing for ſome Occaſion of expreſſing that Affection and that Duty. I ſhall deſire you to expreſs this to them, and to add this, that as I ſhall never forget myſelf to be a Member of your Body; ſo I ſhall be ready to catch at all Means of declaring myſelf to be, not only to the Body, but every Member of it,

a very humble Servant,

Falkland.

[This was ſent, I ſuppoſe, in anſwer to one from the College (*dat. pridie Idus Januar.* 1641.) upon his Lordſhip's being appointed Secretary of State.]

Addenda

Addenda & Corrigenda.

PAGE 31. Note [f], add, Dr. *Goad* is the laſt in that Catalogue, and no other Profeſſor intervenes betwixt Dr. *Porter* of *Queen's* College, who died *Anno* 1635, and Dr. *Clark*, who was not admitted Fellow of *Trinity* Hall, till 1648, nor LL. D. till 1633, ſo that to reconcile what is here ſaid (from *Querel. Cantabr.* p. 8.) we muſt ſuppoſe Dr. *Porter* to have reſigned (probably about the Year 1630) as he reaſonably might, being of a pretty advanced Age, elected Fellow of *Queen's* College, *Anno* 1600.

P. 228. Note [r] add, See a Copy of the King's Letter to Mr. *Otway*, Append. N° xix. p. 473.

P. 252. Note, add, He was born *Auguſt* 20, 1629. in St. *Peter's* College at *Cambridge*, of which his Father was then Maſter, and was admitted Fellow Commoner there, *October* 25, 1642, was created A. M. at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1661, died *June* 14, 1672, on the 22[d] of which Month his Body was depoſited in his Father's Vault at the Eaſt End of the beautiful Chapel at *Pembroke* Hall, which Chapel was built at his Father's Charge.

P. 282. Note [b], add See alſo Dr. *Goodall's* Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Hiſtorical Account of the College's Proceedings againſt *Empiricks*, &c.

P. 366. Note [a], add, See his Funeral Sermon preached by Dr. *Jaſper Maine*.

P. 329. lin. 2. *r. Wimpole* *, and add the Note following.

* The noble Seat of the ancient Family of *Chichley*, from the Time of *John Chichley* Chamberlain of *London* Son of *William Chichley* Eſq; Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of that City, and Nephew to *Henry Chichley* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Henry* V. and to *Robert Chichley* twice Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chichley*, the laſt of the Family that enjoyed that Eſtate, was Maſter General of the Ordinance, and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter* in the Reigns of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second, and of the Privy-Council to the former, if not to both thoſe Princes; a Gentleman that deſerves to be mentioned with Honour, as a great Sufferer for the Royal Cauſe in the Time of the Rebellion, being recorded in a Catalogue of the Compounders (printed in 1655 in 8[vo]) to have paid no leſs than 1945 *l.* into *Goldſmith's* Hall by way of Compoſition for his Eſtate: And, I preſume,

preſume, is the ſame *very worthy Perſon* mentioned by my Lord *Clarendon* above (p. 454.) under the Name of Mr. *Chichley*. It appears Sir *Thomas* was not Knighted before the Lady *Savile*'s Death, from her carrying the Name of *Savile* to the Grave, after ſhe had married him, which muſt have been changed for that of *Chichley*, had he been a Knight. It was on account of that Marriage, that *Wimpole*, her Husband's Seat, is here called her (the Lady *Savile*'s) Houſe. The Eſtate was afterwards ſold by Sir *Thomas Chichley* to Sir *John Cutler*, by whoſe Daughter's Marriage with the Earl of *Radnor*, it came to his Lordſhip in her Right; and being afterwards purchaſed of that Earl by the late Duke of *Newcaſtle*, is now enjoyed by his Grace's Heir at Law, the Right Honourable the Lady *Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles Harley*, and her noble Lord; from whom, as I had the Honour to receive the greateſt part of this Information, ſo I thought it my Duty on this Occaſion to make a publick Acknowledgment here of the generous Encouragement (after many other great and undeſerved Favours) given not only by his Lordſhip to the *Latin* Edition of this Life, but alſo to this Tranſlation of it, by his moſt noble Conſort.

Page 134. Line 6. from the bottom, ſtrike out *King*. p. 156. l. 4. from the bottom, for *at* read *by*. p. 188. Note l. 3. r. N° xix. p. 192. l. 12, for *many* r. *own*. p. 212. l. 8. from the bottom, r. *Eaſton*. p. 229. l. 6. r. N° xx. p. 253. l. ult. r. N° xxv, xxvi. p. 291. l. 4. r. *Bernard Gilpin*. p. 335. Note, l. 4. for *coming* r. *came*. p. 344. Note, l. 25. for *Fuxon* r. *Henchman*. p. 419. Note, l. ult. for *receiv'd* r. *finiſh'd*, or *ſent*.

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